

# The American Historical Review

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IMAGINATION IN HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

## I.

TO judge by the complaints of educators and employers the pressing danger of the republic is inaccuracy: the school-boy does not know how to add, nor the biological assistant to dissect, nor the graduate student in history to tell a story truly. We know that the daily press has little regard for truth, because every evening paper is constantly convicting every morning rival of falsehood. Public speakers make up their anecdotes and distil wrong deductions into the minds of their hearers; the records of Congress are full of speeches that were never spoken, and omit much of the raciness of actual debate.

Even historical scholars are not without their failings, their prejudices, and their falsehoods. The other day a leaf in the storm of advertisements led me to suppose that a noted group of historians—Bancroft, Trevelyan, John Fiske—will be quite discredited when Mr. Arthur Johnston's book gets the public ear, for he has discovered that "all histories of the American Revolution, those written by Americans as well as many written by Englishmen, are for the most part unreliable, misleading, unfaithful to the facts, in many cases even mythical. . . . No American should leave this book unread." This is the argument of the young theological student in his sermon on the Cain episode: "Cain was a bad man; Cain was a Bible critic; and he became an atrocious murderer." Once let an

<sup>1</sup> Annual address of the president of the American Historical Association, delivered at New York, December 28, 1909.

historical critic loose and you start a Philadelphian brick-row of destructive criticism. Whately historically doubted Napoleon Bonaparte; and a later writer was emboldened to put forth *Historical Doubts relative to the Archbishop of Dublin*. History nowadays is placed on the defensive. By your good-will, for the moment champion of the American Historical Association, I mean to-day to blow the trumpet hanging at the gate and demand of Giant Error the causes of this alarming state of things.

These causes are not peculiar to modern American civilization. Horace Walpole a century and a half ago sounded the following war-cry against our craft—which he immediately joined:

So incompetent has the generality of historians been for the province they have undertaken, that it is almost a question, whether, if the dead of past ages could revive, they would be able to reconnoitre the events of their own times, as transmitted to us by ignorance and misrepresentation. . . . Truth is left out of the discussion; and odes and anniversary sermons give the law to history and credulity.

We might bear with historical writers merely stupid, but what shall we do with the false and misleading? Listen to the late Edward A. Freeman—not by an interview just transmitted over Mr. Stead's medium-post, but in what a critic years ago called Freeman's "Most congenial task—that of belabouring Mr. Froude—in which) he could be almost as interesting as Mr. Froude himself". Says Freeman:

I know no other writings professedly historical, in which page follows page in which it is really safe to follow the rule of contrary. . . . Mere inaccuracy in detail is quite another matter from the purely fictitious character of large parts of Mr. Froude's story. . . . Mr. Froude stands alone as the one writer of any importance of whose writings one can say that on them any process of correction would be thrown away. The evil is inherent; it is inborn. . . . If history means truth, if it mean fairness, if it means faithfully reporting what contemporary sources record, and drawing reasonable inferences from their statements, then Mr. Froude is no historian.

This suggests De Quincey's objection to a murderer as a valet: "For, if once a man indulges himself in murder, very soon he comes to drinking and Sabbath-breaking, and from that to incivility and procrastination. Once begin upon this downward path, you never know where you are to stop."

Without trying to settle the moot question whether Froude was a liar or an innocent third party, or one of the world's great historians, some sympathy should here be expressed for those unlucky historiographers who on matters of historical truth know not their right hand from their left. One of the most genial, most eminent,



and most beloved of Bostonians had a habit of writing tales that sounded exactly like history, and history that was chiefly fiction. When one of my predecessors in this office, Justin Winsor, remonstrated with him for making unhistorical statements, the author replied that those things were history to him, and doubtless would be to his readers.

Is there no penal code for those who undertake to write history out of something other than the records, to gloss the truth with a quality of mind which is outside of the events themselves? The trouble with many historians of large reputation who have a host of readers is that corroder of exactness—imagination. It is the duty of a sober and studious body like the American Historical Association to dwell upon the strictly scientific character of history, to emphasize the fixed principles of research, to warn the world against the consequences of unsound study and writing of history. The remedy is a matter of method and process and point of view. Is there any way to make history true, except to relieve it of all imagination?

## II.

The first place for reform is at the fountainhead—the sources. Innocent people suppose that they can rely on history if only it is founded upon documents; but historiography is undermined by unreliable or frankly fraudulent sources. The Middle Ages much enjoyed fabricating the ancients. Thus the great scholar Sigonio, in 1583, thrust upon a confiding world the *Consolatio* of Cicero; and the publisher hit on the ingenious idea (commended to the modern newspaper) of drawing from the great scholar Sigonio an opinion that none but Cicero could have written the book. The seventeenth century boasts of many such works of the imagination, for example, Bishop Gauden, “a very comely person, and a man of vast parts”, who in 1649 foisted upon the world the *Eikon Basilike* as the work of King Charles the First.

The eighteenth century is the golden age of imaginary historians, of whom the greatest was George Psalmanazar, whose very name is a guarantee of candid bad faith. In 1704 he evolved out of his internal consciousness an *Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa*, which was plainly one of the most distant spots visited by Sindbad the Sailor, a region of which the least of its wonders was the tame rhinoceroses and sea-horses. This was the era of Macpherson and his harnessed Ossian; the age of Chatterton, the most remarkable of all fabricators, for his “Old Rowley the Monk” wrote what would have made any young man famous.

Of the multitude of forgeries in the nineteenth century the palm goes to the French artist in vellum, Lucas, who fairly carried on a jobbing trade in spurious letters. Among the 27,000 which one customer, M. Chasles, took were autograph letters from Sir Isaac Newton, Shakespeare, Rabelais, Plato, Lazarus to St. Peter, Judas Iscariot to Mary Magdalene, and Strabo to Juvenal—who was a little matter of ninety-two years Strabo's junior.

English history has been enriched by many similar documents, such as Ingulf's *History of the Abbey of Croyland*, which in its fall carried with it various learned treatises which had leaned upon it. Only about sixty years ago one Constantine Simonides, said to be "not a votary of strict veracity", made and sold palimpsests, created a so-called *History of Egypt* by Uranius, and later tried to prove his honesty by asserting that he had with his own hands forged the *Codex Sinaiticus* which Tischendorf made the basis of the revised text of the New Testament.

America has had some experience of historical imagination: the Reverend Mr. Peters's "Blue Laws of Connecticut" have been shown to be a mixture of misquoted statutes and down-right lies. The so-called *Letters of Montcalm*, circulated in London in 1775, and quoted by Chatham in debate, were then challenged and, more than a century later, were proved to be the work of an Englishman, and set afloat by a vagabond named Roubaud; the *Memoirs* of General James Wilkinson are as reliable as those of that other warrior, Baron Munchausen. The *Travels* of Jonathan Carver, after passing unquestioned for more than a century, serving as raw material for Châteaubriand and Schiller, and unhesitatingly quoted by excellent and careful scholars were, by our late colleague, Edward G. Bourne, shown to be in large degree made up of scissorings from Charlevoix and La Hontan; and the very introduction was studded with gems of fraudulency.

Carver ought to have been detected—as he was suspected—a century ago; and would have been had historians been steeped in their material as are classical scholars and theologians. They should recognize fragments of Charlevoix with the same literary scent that would reveal a quotation from Plutarch in Gregory of Tours, or a sermon of Cranmer in the *Andover Review*. Nevertheless, barefaced copying is a bold but highly successful trick, as is shown in William Gordon's *History* of the Revolution, which for a hundred years passed muster as a first-hand account of things as they were, seen by an intelligent clergyman, right on the ground. Professor Libby, however, has had the temerity to com-

pare Gordon's history with the *Annual Register* written from year to year throughout the Revolution by unknown hands (probably Edmund Burke was engaged); and he finds that Gordon has simply lifted large extracts from that far-away source.

To adapt the work of others and foist it on the world as one's own is not the highest type of intellectual crime—after all it is only a kind of entry thieving: the overcoat though stolen may be whole and serviceable. There are higher fields of imaginary history in which Americans are also proficient. A proof of their skill was given July 1, 1905, when *Collier's Weekly* was deluded into publishing a facsimile of what purported to be a copy of "No. 294" of the *Cape Fear Mercury*, dated "Friday, June 3rd, 1775", in three columns, discovered by Dr. Miller, and containing the alleged Mecklenburg Resolutions of May 20, 1775. On examination by two candid experts, Salley and Ford, this facsimile and the so-called "original" raised many embarrassing questions: "June 3rd, 1775", did not fall on Friday; the number of a later issue than "294" was 266; other extant copies of the paper about that time were printed in two columns instead of three. In the opinion of Worthington Ford "it is a paper which is a really fine specimen of the forger's art."

As a bold and creative act of the imagination, however, nothing in American history surpasses Buell's recent *John Paul Jones*. Paul Jones is tolerably well known to investigators in the period of the Revolution as a wild merchant captain, a man cramped for money, a brawler, experienced in duels, fond of unselected company, but a patriot, a fine seaman, an intelligent officer, a splendid fighter, a leader of men, one who goes down to history along with Hawkins and Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh—his place among the immortals is secure. But the biographer must needs give his hero what he considers a proper background; Commodore Paul Jones ought to have a family and an estate; and Buell in the handsomest manner provides him with both in this paragraph:

Old William Jones had died in 1760, and by the terms of his will had made John Paul the residuary legatee of his brother in case the latter should die without issue; provided that John Paul would assume, as his brother had done, the patronymic of Jones. On his visit to Rappahannock in 1769, Captain John Paul legally qualified under the provisions of the will of William Jones by recording his assent to its requirements in due form. . . . The legend is that William Paul Jones was still breathing when his brother John Paul reached his bedside, but he never rallied enough to recognize him. In a few hours he died.

Supposedly the author copies his authorities and leaves nothing to the imagination. In fact every word of this statement is imagi-

nary, except the names of William Jones and John Paul Jones. Mr. Junius Davis from a study of the probate court records proves that William Jones did not bequeath anything either to William Paul or to John Paul; at his death he had no landed estate; William Paul never took the name of Jones; John Paul never was adopted by William and never registered his assent to adoption. William Paul did not die a few hours after the arrival of John Paul but the next year; he willed his property not to his brother but to his sister and her children; his will is signed William Paul and not William Paul Jones.

Similar explosive criticism might well be applied to other parts of the work. For instance, Jones is made to say in 1776: "Some 900 guineas remain in balance in my favor in the Bank of North America, or in the hands of Mr. Ross." This must have been a prophetic deposit, inasmuch as the Bank of North America was not organized until 1781. These astonishing documents are based on alleged originals which are not found in any other publication, and the manuscripts of which have never been produced; or on alleged printed sources, such as the *Memorial Papers of Joseph Hewes*, which are not to be found in any of the great libraries of the country, and the title of which is not in any authentic bibliography of North Carolina or of the United States. The statements of the book are contrary to probabilities, to the *Journals of Congress*, and to literary common-sense. Yet that work navigated successfully between the Scylla and Charybdis of the *Nation* and the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*; and may be quoted by later generations as the only sympathetic life of a great figure in American history.

### III.

To set in order both the historians and the sources upon which they reach their conclusions is the function of the most approved modern school of research and writing, and is one of the logical tasks of the American Historical Association, which is well known to be composed wholly of cautious persons who never open their mouths without a foot-note to a trustworthy original. What we need is a genuinely scientific school of history, which shall remorselessly examine the sources and separate the wheat from the chaff; which shall critically balance evidence; which shall dispassionately and moderately set forth results. For such a process we have the fortunate analogy of the physical sciences: did not Darwin spend twenty years in accumulating data, and in selecting typical phenomena, before he so much as ventured a generalization? History,



too, has its inductive method, its relentless concentration of the grain in its narrow spout, till by its own weight it seeks the only outlet. In history, too, scattered and apparently unrelated data fall together in harmonious wholes; the mind is led to the discovery of laws; and the explorer into scientific truth is at last able to formulate some of those unsuspected generalizations which explain the whole framework of the universe. That is the way in which Darwin came upon his universally guiding principle of natural selection; is it not the way in which historians must work?

The parallel with science carries us still further; in history as in biology, scientifically speaking every field is worthy of study; the fall of the Roman Empire, as much as the use of wampum as currency by the early colonists in America; and new fields constantly open. To be sure Thomas Arnold in 1841 was certain that historic "art stopped short in the cultivated court of the Empress Josephine."

To us, all is explored: imagination can hope for . . . no new continent peopled by youthful races, the destined restorers of our worn-out generations. Everywhere the search has been made, and the report received; we have the full amount of earth's resources before us, and they seem inadequate to supply life for a third period of human history.

What a fine subject for a doctor's thesis would be a criticism of Thomas Arnold on the Finality of Modern History! As in science so in history, every small monograph is a contribution to the materials at the service of the whole body of learned men: Darwin studied earthworms; and so we may study "borough English" (which it must be understood is not a dialect, but a rule of descent). In history every worker is an historian just as every true scientific man is an investigator.

As in pure science also the scientific pursuit of history includes a verification of the materials: every assertion must rest upon a source, as every scientific result rests upon experiment; and in history, as in other sciences, the final purpose is the synthesis of results, the combination of facts. Therefore Birrell says:

Facts are not the dross of history, but the true metal, and the historian is a worker in that metal. He has nothing to do with abstract truth, or with practical politics, or with forecasts of the future. . . . Maxims he will have, if he is wise, never a one; and as for a moral, if he tells his story well, it will need none; if he tells it ill, it will deserve none.

No one in the various schools of history denies that the scientific method is essential for the establishment of truth and for sound generalizations; and history benefits as much as any other branch

of learning from the scientific incredulity of investigators. Our facts are more fleeting; our deductions more subject to suspicion than in the pure sciences, but criticism is the breath of life of the study of mankind. Criticism is applied thought; and in no subject is there a clearer understanding that both the basis and the generalization of our knowledge must be subject to reason. It is one of the main objects of history to blast away the conventions and prepossessions which overlie our notions of the past.

#### IV.

Still the analogy of natural sciences may be pushed too far: we use terms like "research" and "investigation" as though history could be prepared in a laboratory with all the accidental causes shut away, with the phenomena which we wish to examine dissected out from the vast body of material; we speak of libraries as "laboratories of history"; but the ultimate material of history is neither books nor records but mind. We are dealing with the manifold manifestations of human nature; we are trying to decipher triple and quadruple palimpsests of human character; to understand and expound the actions of men who did not understand themselves; to find analogies between historical occurrences without being able to discover the causes of those slight divergences of race, of national characteristics, and of personal bent which upset all calculations. Furthermore, history is much more affected than any of the natural sciences by the appearance of abnormal individuals, of great leaders: the geographer is not, like the historian, obliged to change over all his theory of mountain-building because of the sudden appearance of peaks a hundred thousand feet high; nor does the botanist ever discover a king tree, a Napoleon of the forests, which overtops and dwarfs all the surrounding trees. Science does not need, like history, philosophers to ascertain the laws of the mind before generalizations can safely be made and laws deduced.

On the other hand, history has an advantage over most of the strict sciences in the abundance of materials: at first sight the investigator is overwhelmed by the tremendous mass of data. Carlyle says almost despairingly:

Social Life is the aggregate of all the individual men's Lives who constitute society; History is the essence of innumerable Biographies. But if one Biography, nay, our own Biography, study and recapitulate it as we may, remains in so many points unintelligible to us; how much more must these millions, the very facts of which, to say nothing of the purport of them, we know not, and cannot know!

The only way out of this obsession of facts has been pointed out by Professor Seeley, as summarized by a critic: "History is not a narrative of all sorts of facts—biographical, moral, political—but of such facts as a scientific diagnosis has ascertained to be historically interesting." The nightmare of the historical professor is the student who reverences facts and accepts any statement that he finds in print; to whom the revelations of a great man's barber and the great man's private correspondence with his sovereign are equally materials. The only way out of the tangle is to regard only cogent facts; but this raises the unavoidable difficulty that a finite mind must decide which facts are infinite; that what was cogent to George Bancroft may seem inconsequent to James Ford Rhodes; that the facts about the frame of mind of the Senate toward the President, so vital in the year of the impeachment of 1868, have grown cold and lifeless for our generation.

Some guidance may be found in using facts which fit together in causation: that is the principle of the natural sciences and it is still more valuable to the historian because his materials are the experience of mankind; he judges from historical cause to effect through the workings of his own mind. The great exponent of the theory of causation is, of course, Buckle, whose doctrine may be revealed in two sentences from his works:

Rejecting, then, the metaphysical dogma of free will, and the theological dogma of predestined events, we are driven to the conclusion that the actions of men, being determined solely by their antecedents, must have a character of uniformity, that is to say, must, under precisely the same circumstances, always issue in precisely the same results. . . . We have man modifying nature, and nature modifying man; while out of this reciprocal modification all events must necessarily spring. The problem immediately before us is to ascertain the method of discovering the laws of this double modification.

The application of these themes is easy—anyone may arrive at the causes in history; but the process is subject to the same difficulty as reading the Hittite inscriptions; various people decipher them, but the readings are all different. Critical historians are more or less cannibals: they live by destroying each others' conclusions; and their science gives some ground for the quip of the *Journal de Genève*:

Voltaire at least relates facts: modern historians write only to deny them. If they keep up this practice we shall come to the unhappy conclusion that nothing has really happened since the creation of the world. I do not find fault with criticism, on the contrary I prefer it to eloquence from those who relate the past, but after all I should like to have that past related.

Scientific history is in the position of the teacher who can instruct but cannot make her pupils love her. Says Dr. Crothers:

The Gentle Reader turns to these highly praised volumes and find himself adrift, without human companionship, on a bottomless sea of erudition,—writings, writings everywhere and not a page to read! . . . The historical expert starts with the Magna Charta and makes a preliminary survey. Then he begins his march down the centuries, intrenching every position lest he be caught unawares by the critics. His intellectual forces lack mobility, as they must wait for their baggage trains. . . . There are references to bulky volumes, where at the foot of every page the notes run along, like little angry dogs barking at the text.

Macaulay is guilty of saying that it is very easy "to write history respectably". There is perhaps no logical reason why scientific history should be dull, but even Bishop Stubbs, a path-breaker, if ever there were one, and a tower of sound historical learning, an inciter of truth and good judgment, was not enlivening; as witness this single sentence of his which is undeniably true, just, and helpful—yet which would not arouse a poet to an ode nor a nation to revolution.

I think that there are few lessons more necessary for men to learn, not merely who are going to take to public life, but who are going to live and move as men among their fellows, than these:—that there are few questions on which as much may not be said on one side as on the other: that there are none at all on which all the good are on one side, all the bad on the other, or all the wise on one and all the fools on the other; that the amount of dead weight in human affairs, call it stupidity or what you will, is pretty equally divided between the advocates of order and the advocates of change, giving to the one party much of its stability and to the other much of its momentum; that intolerance is no prerogative of heterodoxy, nor tolerance the inseparable accompaniment of the conscious possession of truth, a condition which might of all others the best afford to be tolerant, the most merciful and pitiful of error: that all generalizations, however sound in logic, are in morals and practical matters ipso facto false; that there is no room for sweeping denunciations, or trenchant criticisms in the dealings of a world whose falsehoods and veracities are separated by so very thin a barrier: to learn that simple assertion however reiterated can never make proof: that a multitude of half-believers can never make faith: that argument never convinces any man against his will: that silence is not acquiescence: that the course of this world is anything but even and uniform: that such by-words as reaction and progress are but the political slang which each side uses to express their aversions and their propensions; above all, that no material success, no energy of development, no eventual progress or consolidation, can atone for the mischief done by one act of falsehood, treachery or cruelty [*period.*]

Facts as facts, however carefully selected, scientific treatment in itself, however necessary for the ascertainment of truth, are no



more history than recruits arrayed in battalions are an army. We side with Emerson in his note of revolt against the reign of facts: "But if the man is true to his better instincts or sentiments, and refuses the dominion of facts, as one that comes of a higher race; remains fast by the soul and sees the principle, then the facts fall aptly and supple into their places; they know their master, and the meanest of them glorifies him."

## V.

For years the Phi Beta Kappa Society kept secret the meaning of its three mystic letters; but long ago the world has been permitted to know that the members of that ancient and honorable body make Philosophy the Guide of Life. What is this philosophy, which seems so much stronger than material facts? I take it that it is that high quality of the mind which makes us see things as they are; and that it is only another term for imagination. To be sure that particular combination of five syllables was avoided by Professor Tyndall because "it is tainted by its associations, and therefore objectionable to some minds." "Imagination" is a suspected term only because it is so often taken to mean the first of the two kinds of imagination set forth in the two parallel derivatives "imaginary" and "imaginative". It was the former of these imaginations against which protested Hume's hard-polished Scotch mind when he said that "an idea of the imagination may acquire such a force and vivacity, as to pass for an idea of the memory, and counterfeit its effects on the belief and judgment."

Over against the materialism of Hume stands the idea which Blake the painter so graphically expressed: "Imagination is the real and eternal world of which this vegetable universe is but a faint shadow." And Shelley held that

Poets [by whom he meant men of imagination] are not only the authors of language and of music, of the dance, and architecture, and statuary, and painting; they are the institutors of laws, and the founders of civil society, and the inventors of the arts of life, and the teachers, who draw into a certain propinquity with the beautiful and true, that partial apprehension of the agencies of the invisible world which is called religion.

However noble the quality of imagination, it must be held under some restraint. "Gentlemen of the Jury", said Rufus Choate in opening a case, "By an unimpeachable witness I shall be able to establish clearly to your minds the precise moment when, no longer able to bear the accumulated burden of misfortune, the great heart

of my client swelled and broke." In due time the famous lawyer put upon the stand the unimpeachable witness, whose testimony was as follows: "I came in about half past six and I see the defendant here a settin' tipped up on the back legs of his chair with his head agin the wall; and I says to him, 'Abner', says I, 'What's the matter?' says I. 'Jim', says he, 'I'm afeared I have run agin a snag.'"

However you may define this mysterious quality of mind it has a place in historiography, for history is as much a philosophical subject as the economics upon which my colleague here is waiting to enlighten you. There are no facts of history that are not related to personality. The lava streams of Mount Erebus were as far removed from history as though they were on the surface of the moon instead of the Antarctic Continent, till human beings came within sight of them. When you begin your scientific inquiry into cause and effect in history, you must deal with human nature and human conduct. In order to appreciate conduct you must study standards. You cannot fairly find fault with Don John of Austria for capturing the enemy's private property at sea, or Lord Mansfield for sentencing sheep-stealers to be hanged. But neither conduct, which is outward action, nor standards, which are the condition of the outward act, necessarily reveal motives; and motives are the most interesting if the most elusive part of history. We know that Burr killed Hamilton; we know that Hamilton felt constrained to accept the challenge. How are we to know what is really most interesting and most important in that episode, just why Burr was so revengeful, so malign?

On this point also let us listen to Dr. Crothers's Gentle Reader—

Here is a conflict that has been going on for ages. The men who have done valiant service are not all smooth-spoken gentlemen in black coats—but what of it? They have done what they could. . . . The historian should not only know what they did, but what was the alternative offered them. There was the Prophet Samuel. Some persons will have no further respect for him after they learn that he hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord. They think he ought to have stood up for Free Religion. They take for granted that the alternative offered him was religious toleration as we understand it. It was nothing of the sort. The question for a man of that age was, Shall Samuel hew Agag in pieces, or shall Agag hew Samuel in pieces, and my sympathies are with Samuel.

The basis of history is human nature, the expression of human nature is through history, whether scientific or literary or judicial or imaginative; and therefore history must include the study of

persons. Plato makes a rhetorician tell Socrates that when he went to Sparta the people "required me to lecture them on genealogies, and when I began to discourse to them on this subject they would hardly allow me to make an end". This interest in one's forbears is one of the sanest applications of the human mind, especially inasmuch as we know our ancestors pretty well and our posterity not at all. But though you can study the succession of human character only by looking backward, you have the advantage of seeing many historical dramas clear to the last act. We know the past better in some ways than did the men and women of the past, who could not see the results of their own action. At every turn imagination comes in: everywhere we get beyond what Dr. Donne called "those unconcerting things—matters of fact". Facts are useful as giving a key to character. That James I. never washed his hands is a sociological fact not so shocking to that age as to this; that James I. wrangled with the Puritans at Hampton Court is a fact which illuminates his whole make-up, explains his quarrel with Parliament, accounts for the Mayflower Company.

A little imagination helps one to sympathize with the great men of the past; to understand the limitations of their surroundings. Against the habit of pulling down national heroes there is a visible reaction. Horace Walpole in his *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard III.* was one of the first to go into the interesting pursuit of revising the judgment of mankind on a supposed scoundrel. That has been the favorite task of Froude, who may be said to have chiselled for himself, out of a block of very seamy marble, a new statue of Henry VIII. The book of a well-known military critic upon Napoleon brought from one of his legal friends in Boston the comment "I never knew before that John Ropes was a good criminal lawyer." Edmund Andros has his apologists; Aaron Burr his defenders; somebody has adduced evidence that Benedict Arnold was a misunderstood patriot.

Whether saints militant or sinners errant, great men confuse all the categories of the scientific historian. Tolstoy may look upon them as merely the foam on the top of a vast billow, but, in a world of human nature in which the sternest critics have not been able entirely to banish free will, a great man is a dynamic influence; Louis XIV. delays the adjustment of Europe for two centuries; and Napoleon catches up the two hundred years and completes the national development in a decade. Perhaps nobody is indispensable in history, but it is easy to see in the career of Zwingli and Calvin that without Luther the German Reformation would have failed.

If George Washington had been shot at Braddock's Field, the English colonies in North America might have remained English for another half-century. Without Abraham Lincoln the rivalry of North and South would have gone on indefinitely. Great men perhaps do not make history; they are never greater than the country through which they work, but they concentrate history, reflect it, exemplify it, alter it. Great men have some power to accomplish things; they are the spokesmen of national purpose; they at least suppose themselves to be re-making the world, and no strictly scientific statement can account for great men or measure their influence.

Scientific history professes to know neither right nor wrong. In old-fashioned hospitals there was a thing called "laudable pus", and we are all familiar with the "vicious circle", but to the genuinely scientific mind there is neither vice nor virtue; the massacre of St. Bartholomew is like the Great Awakening of 1740-1742, simply a material for study. Every investigator knows that imaginative history cannot, in the nature of things, be dispassionate; and many historical writers feel a responsibility for pointing out the moral lessons of the evils that they describe. Without developing the whole study of man on every page the historian must nevertheless consider to what end his people, his nations, his combinations of human wills are tending. Every historical student likes to look on his own work as a road-book which not only describes the bridges and the turns and hills but tells you where you can put up for the night and how far it is to Rome. How far history is in itself a moral influence is debatable; but on this side the scientific method fails; there is much in history that cannot be measured like atomic weights, or averaged like insurance losses.

To imagination, or rather to fact infused by imagination, is due this meeting to-day. For the American Historical Association is based on the expectations of those who, in faith combined with abundant works, founded the society in 1884. 'Tis but twenty-five years ago; and yet of the forty original members who took part in the organization over half have joined the majority; and less than ten are present to-day. This movement which has done so much to unify, enlarge, and strengthen the forces of historical research and publication, sprang from the insight, the hope, and the practical imagination of a small number of teachers and writers of history, especially Herbert B. Adams, the founder; Charles Kendall Adams; Charles Deane; Moses Coit Tyler; and Justin Winsor. They claimed for their subject of study all the rights and privileges of a great field of learning; they stimulated younger men by their



precious friendship; they banded the scholars of the country together; they set, in their own works, a high example of patient, thorough scholarship; and they possessed that understanding of human character which is the beginning of historical writing. Out of that group of scholars three of the survivors deserve from us all a special gratitude which they have never claimed: J. Franklin Jameson, two years ago titular president of this Association, and always *princeps* in his interest, his wisdom, and his single-heartedness; Clarence W. Bowen, whose prophetic vision has seen a learned society steadily enlarging its powers through the judicious use of its funds, who is willing to abandon his beloved surplus for any new activity, and nevertheless finds that surplus magically added to our investments at the end of every fiscal year; and Andrew D. White, the first president of the American Historical Association, and to this day—wherever he goes—an association in his own person of a teacher of history, a university administrator, a public man, and a warm friend to rising scholars.

## VI.

At every turn, whether you consider the field of the historian, the scope of history, the historical method or the purpose of history, one finds this impotence of facts taken by themselves, this infusion of a shadowy something which may be called sentiment, or the ideal, or spirit, or imagination. Hence numerous efforts to teach history outside of facts. Earlier mankind loved to drape a few facts with robes of imagination, in myths which doubtless preserve some history, like flies in the amber, and are historical materials only so far as they reveal the things that people liked to believe. The modern world is not without its myths; to be descended from gods is a distinction which the Emperor of Japan to this day insists upon as his. Andrew Lang has wickedly applied the scientific tendency to develop a myth in the story of our own times, to prove that:

Gladstone is really and primarily the thunderbolt, and secondarily the spirit of the tempest. They quote an isolated line from an early lay about the 'Pilot who weathered the storm', which they apply to Gladstone in his human or political aspect, when the storm-spirit has been anthropomorphized, and was regarded as an ancestral politician. But such scanty folk-lore as we possess assures us that the storm, on the other hand, weathered Gladstone. . . . Among the epithets of Gladstone which occur in the hymns, we find 'versatile', 'accomplished', 'philanthropic', 'patriotic', 'statesmanlike', 'subtle', 'eloquent', 'illustrious', 'persuasive', 'brilliant', 'clear', 'unambiguous', 'resolute'. All of those are obviously intelligible only when applied to the sun. . . . The enemies of Gladstone, the *Rishis*, or hymn-writers who execrated

him, were regarded by his worshippers as a darkened class, foes of enlightenment. Gladstone is said to have 'no conscience', 'no sense of honor', to be so fugitive and evasive in character that one might almost think the moon, rather than the sun, was the topic under discussion. But, as Roth points out, this is easily explained when we remember the vicissitudes of English weather, and the infrequent appearances of the sun in that climate.

American history, on its controversial side, has been enriched by several distinct attempts to manufacture myths to order. The first of these might be called the worship of the Pilgrim Fathers: it is the ascription to a band of men and women, who represented a splendid cause and were pioneers in a magnificent historical pageant, of virtues which are in fact possessed only by their descendants. My ancestor, Stephen Hart, helped to settle Cambridge, and later was one of the fundamental orderers of the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut; but in the Pequot War he massacred Indian women and children mercilessly. I take no responsibility for his acts; I refer the case to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

A similar myth causes the exaltation of the Southern Cavalier, who was a personage about as infrequent in Virginia as in New York; it is at least remarkable that few of the great Virginia families of the nineteenth century can show a Cavalier lineage: neither the Jeffersons, nor Madisons, Monroes, Marshalls, Carters, Carys nor Bryans trace undoubted descent from one of the bearers of the love-locks.

In many ways the most interesting of the American myths is that which has clustered about Marcus Whitman and which was resolved into its elementary gases by our late colleague, Edward G. Bourne, a scholar eminent in both constructive and destructive critical spirit. Quite different in kind is the George Washington myth, "popular delusion chiefly due to Mason L. Weems, who with unwinking inaccuracy sets himself forth as 'formerly Rector of Mount Vernon Parish'". Weems has never been properly understood by the American public; he landed himself among the immortals by writing what is substantially a romance—a kind of patriotic *Sanford and Merton*—not intended to give information about George Washington but to suggest virtuous conduct to young Americans. Who but an expert performer upon the imagination could personify Washington's father on the boy's refusal to divide a fine large apple with his brothers and sisters: "George looked in silence on the wide wilderness of fruit. He marked the busy humming bees, and heard the gay notes of birds; then lifting his eyes filled with shining moisture to his father, he softly said, 'Well, Pa, only

‘forgive me this time; and see if I ever be so stingy any more.’” Human nature rebels at this attempt to make a prig out of a youth who was probably more likely to steal apples than to divide them.

A generation ago people otherwise blameless read Louisa Mühlbach’s so-called historical novels—*Frederic the Great and his Family*, *Joseph the Second and his Court*, etc., and thought they were absorbing European history. On the other hand, some of the most wonderful works of the human mind have been novels which have put historical fact through the crucible of the imagination of genius: the *Scarlet Letter*, *Quentin Durward*, *Henry Esmond*, are not only works of art, but contributions to history, whose writers have put themselves in the place of the people they describe and have represented for us a bygone time.

## VII.

Andrew Lang, whose irreverence I have already several times rebuked, in his essay on *History as she ought to be Wrote*, roundly asserts:

Historians jump, like Mr. Froude, into a sea of MSS. and bring up a book of absorbing interest. . . . Or they pore over their work with a patent double-million magnifying pair of spectacles, and never produce anything worth looking at. Of the two maladies, give me Froude’s disease. Measles is better than paralysis.

Quite the contrary is the view of Bishop Stubbs:

I would almost rather that boys were attracted by the reading of *Ivanhoe* and the *Talisman*, books which do not pretend to be true, and are full of strange misrepresentations of manners and thought, than by a serious History composed with a view to the picturesque only or mainly. . . . Our real education in History must not be less precise or severe than the discipline of language or of natural science.

There is perhaps a middle way between measles and paralysis: it is not really necessary to drive unhappy boys to the misery of reading *Ivanhoe*; something may be done by making real history attractive. A century ago one William Butler, teacher in a girls’ school, conceived the idea of harnessing Clio to the go-cart of female education and he wrote a book entitled *Arithmetical Questions*, of which the purpose was to infuse the mind with lofty examples while it was wrestling with mathematical problems. Here is an example:

No. 201. FEMALE PATRIOTISM. The generous exertions of the American daughters of liberty in Philadelphia, and the neighbourhood, to assist the continental soldiers, in the war with England, are mentioned with deserved approbation by Dr. Gordon. Desirous of sharing with the gentlemen of America in the splendors of patriotism, and as-

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piring to the honour of giving the army some public mark of the esteem they entertained of their virtue, they formed a female association, and collected subscriptions for this purpose. Their donations, says the historian, purchased a sufficient quantity of cloth, and their hands made the same into two thousand one hundred and seven shirts, which were delivered to the person appointed to receive them by General WASHINGTON. . . . Supposing each shirt contained 3 yards and  $\frac{1}{4}$ , how many pieces, each consisting of 25 yards and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , must the American ladies have purchased, to have accomplished their patriotic purpose?  
*Ans.* 268 pieces, 13 yards  $\frac{3}{4}$ .

Picturesque history, as distinguished from dull history on the one side and dramatic history on the other, may be interpreted by the word itself: it is the attempt of the historical writer to write so that his readers may see what he describes. A remarkable example is Froude's account of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

The tables and forms had been removed, and a great wood fire was blazing in the chimney. At the upper end of the hall, above the fireplace, but near it, stood the scaffold, twelve feet square and two feet and a half high. It was covered with black cloth; a low rail ran round it covered with black cloth also, and the Sheriff's guard of halberdiers were ranged on the floor below on the four sides to keep off the crowd. On the scaffold was the block, black like the rest; a square black cushion was placed behind it, and behind the cushion a black chair; on the right were two other chairs for the Earls. The axe leant against the rail, and two masked figures stood like mutes on either side at the back. The Queen of Scots as she swept in seemed as if coming to take a part in some solemn pageant. Not a muscle of her face could be seen to quiver; she ascended the scaffold with absolute composure, looked round her smiling, and sate down. . . . One of her ladies handed her a pair of crimson sleeves, with which she hastily covered her arms; and thus she stood on the black scaffold with the black figures all around her, blood-red from head to foot.

This is certainly a wonderful word picture. You can see the stairway and the hall and the scaffold—and the blood-red queen. Perhaps there is too much of the

"I've measured it from side to side  
 Just three feet long and two feet wide."

And the extract reveals one of the dangers and the mischiefs of picturesque writing. Where is there historical proof that she was clad in "blood-red"? The source says "red", of which there are many shades. Froude, like many picturesque writers, had no objection to adding a few details to make the picture more striking—details which so far as historical truth is concerned are nothing but the diamonds on the stomacher of the wife of the Vicar of Wakefield.

Even the most scrupulous picturesque historian leaves in the



mind the impression of constant excitement. Indians were not always scalping nor Cossacks burning villages. Creighton is right when he says: "History cannot be made picturesque by the skill of the writer. . . . It is useless to attempt to make it so by deliberate omissions of all that is not picturesque. We must take human affairs as they come." The heroic, the startling, the extraordinary are fairly the prize of the historian, who must always seek to sound the depths and measure the heights of national life; but history includes also the ordinary commonplace experiences of mankind; hence economic and social history have made a place for themselves alongside the narratives of political events.

As for the pictile arts of style, it is a great thing truly to represent past times; to make us see the people as they were; to sit with our cold feet in the dirty rushes which covered the floor of the Tudor nobleman's hall; to march with the Parisian mob from Versailles escorting the captive royal family; but that is only an adornment for history. It is like learning our Louis XIII. from the Rubens pictures in the Louvre. Clothes, armor, table pewter, and pet animals are part of the setting of history, in so far as they help us to realize our ancestors, but they are only the furniture of history after all. The historian who aims chiefly at picturesqueness shuts himself up with the lesser part of the facts which really inform. He makes a continuous performance out of a national life that is full of commonplaces; only once in a generation is a nation stirred to its noblest thoughts.

Most picturesque history is simply what Hume decried—an effort to combine confused memories into an image of the truth. Mere picturesqueness is not imagination at all, but a realism which is the less satisfactory because no historian can photograph the multiplicity of details, he must always sketch and give broad effects. The simply picturesque writer is simply an impressionist.

#### VIII.

Of the different types of historical writing which have been described—the fraudulent, the scientific, and the picturesque—none seems to reach to the high towers of the mind. It was all very well for Ranke to begin his lectures: "I will simply tell you how it was." Did not his students really get "how it was" as seen through the mind of Ranke? The dictum that history must be objective, that it consists in a proper marshalling of facts, leaves out of account the varieties of humanity in historical characters and in historical writers. What a man does is conditioned by the make-up of his

mind; by what he thinks about what he does; and in addition the reader's judgment is affected by the mental peculiarities of the historian who describes that mental process.

Here is the opportunity for the great historian. Real, vital history is not simply a condensation of facts, it is a transmutation of the lifeless lead of the annals into the shining gold of the historian. Far above the picturesque in history, which is only the art of assembling striking details, is the dramatic in history, which is breathing the breath of life into the men of bygone times. It is an art which stands alongside that of the painter, the sculptor, and the architect; which puts the great historian parallel with the philosopher, the seer, and the poet. This essential in the writing of history, this power to assemble the dry bones and to make them live, is nothing more nor less than imagination.

Nor is imagination the exclusive property of the artist or author. It is the quality which most of the captains of industry nowadays possess in marked degree. The successful business man is he who can, in his own mind, reproduce the thoughts of his fellowmen so as to foresee their demands. Any commercial traveler will tell you that a man must understand human nature in order to sell a bill of goods. The chief quality of a great statesman is the power to understand the aspirations of a nation and to provide for desires that are as yet felt hazily. For example, the Duke of Wellington and George Washington were very much alike in mental make-up: both passed for matter-of-fact, unemotional men but in reality they both had an astonishing insight. They knew what soldiers would do; they guessed what the enemy would do or leave undone; they understood what their countrymen longed for, expected, and would sustain.

For imagination as applied to narration, in the selection of facts presumably true, in their arrangement and statement with simplicity and charm, take an instance from an American writer once read by school-boys—now too little regarded—John Lothrop Motley, whose chief fault was the consciousness that he was writing a sort of prompt-book of history, where the characters were to appear at their cue and to impress the world with their greatness. Take for example his account of the memorable battle of Lepanto:

A courier, despatched post haste to Spain, bore the glorious news, together with the sacred standard of the Prophet, the holy of holies, inscribed with the name of Allah twenty-eight thousand nine hundred times, always kept in Mecca during peace, and never since the conquest of Constantinople lost in battle before. The King was at vespers in the Escorial. Entering the sacred precincts, breathless, travel-

stained, excited, the messenger found Philip impassable as marble to the wondrous news. Not a muscle of the royal visage was moved, not a syllable escaped the royal lips, save a brief order to the clergy to continue the interrupted vespers. When the service had been methodically concluded, the King made known the intelligence and requested a *Te Deum*.

In this paraphrase of an original Spanish narrative, you see how the author brings out his king into the foot-lights; how the other characters step back so as not to disturb the unity of the moment. It is dramatic, it is effective, it is also historical.

The same qualities of dramatic vigor, of power to seize men and things and group together those that belong together, to describe men in their habits, to separate them from other men, belong also to Tacitus, who has been conspicuously a model of conciseness in style, but abounds also in a sense of progress, of movement of a dramatic combination of history. How genuinely dramatic his comment on his own narrative of Nero's crimes:

If I were telling of foreign wars, and of men dying for their country in ways thus like each other, I should even so be surfeited, and expect my readers to feel weariness and disgust at this long sad tale of citizens coming, however nobly, to their end; but the story of all this servile endurance, all this blood wasted wantonly at home, wears out the mind and wrings the soul with melancholy. Nor can I ask my readers to accept any other plea than this—that I cannot blame the men who perished thus ingloriously. For these things came of the wrath of the Gods against Rome—a wrath that may not be passed over.

No discussion of imagination in history could be complete without that most striking example of the imaginative historian—Macaulay. There are fashions in history as in other matters. Hume was read at one time, and felt that his work must be a great one for the “Best Seller’s” reason, because “Notwithstanding this variety of winds and seasons, to which my writings had been exposed, they had still been making such advances, that the copy-money given me by the book-sellers, much exceeded anything formerly known in England: I was become not only independent, but opulent.” Macaulay has been in and out of fashion several times: the scientific historians find him unreal; the dull writers think him meretricious, but one thing is certain—you may get history from Gardiner or Stubbs or George Bancroft, but in reading Macaulay you get Macaulay. He puts into every page his own experience of life; he moves forward and backward; everywhere he finds comparisons, allusions, parallels, categories. Take for instance his judgment of Cromwell:

The Cavaliers could scarcely refrain from wishing that one who had done so much to raise the fame of the nation had been a legitimate

King; and the Republicans were forced to own that the tyrant suffered none but himself to wrong his country, and that, if he had robbed her of liberty, he had at least given her glory in exchange. After half a century during which England had been of scarcely more weight in European politics than Venice or Saxony, she at once became the most formidable power in the world. . . . The Huguenots of Languedoc, the shepherds who, in the hamlets of the Alps, professed a Protestantism older than that of Augsburg, were secured from oppression by the mere terror of his great name.

The arousing style, the prodigality of knowledge, the real interest in, acquaintance with, and love for, historical characters (though he may have misjudged them as we misjudge our acquaintances) combine to put Macaulay in the front rank of the world's historians. He is great because of his dramatic power; his people are all taking a part in a mighty movement; one after another speaks his lines, telling us himself why he is on the stage, or by indirection making us aware of his assignment.

#### IX.

Above that dramatic instinct which links Macaulay with Shakespeare and Hawthorne, there is an even higher quality which the greatest historians have hardly reached, the power of insight, the capacity not only to discern the character of men, and the capacity of mankind, but to see whither a people is tending. Far be it from the historian to prophesy. That fountain of wisdom, James Bryce, has shown how two men as oracular as Alexander Hamilton and Alexander de Tocqueville saw dangers impending to the American commonwealth which never took effect, and entirely overlooked the most serious threats to national existence and greatness. When Edward A. Freeman in 1863 wrote a *History of Federal Government down to the Disruption of the United States*, he reminded the world that it is the historian's business to deal with the past rather than with the future. One eminent man of our time, Lamprecht, has set himself distinctly to interpret the whole process of history, and even he, the strongest modern advocate of a study of the many rather than the few, of searching for a basis of history in race-experiences rather than in individuals, even he exuberantly declares that with

youthful feelings of anticipation, with an ecstatic presentiment of dimly felt combinations, are the portals of a new epoch entered. Science becomes a prophecy, philosophy turns to poetical metaphysics. . . . The advance step in all this was a clearer view of the vast combinations of the phenomena of the *mass-psyche*—an advance which brought one to describe vital points poetically, in part or wholly so.

To understand great men, to reveal them to later generations, requires a spirit of divination and foresight and of dwelling upon large things. Almost all critics acknowledge that the first of American historians is Francis Parkman, and the insight of that quiet, unassuming man, whose connection with public men and the management of states was very limited, is due chiefly to his power to see the drama in human life. Here is what (in his autobiographical fragment) he says of his own work:

Before the end of my Sophomore year my various schemes had crystallized into a plan of writing the story of what was then known as the "Old French War"—that is, the war that ended in the conquest of Canada—for here, as it seemed to me, the forest drama was more stirring and the forest stage more thronged with appropriate actors than in any other passage of our history. . . . My theme fascinated me, and I was haunted with wilderness images day and night.

A single extract from Parkman will show how far he was able to achieve his great plan:

Saussaye anchored in a harbor on the east side of Mount Desert. The jet-black shade betwixt crags and sea, the pines along the cliff, pencilled against the fiery sunset, the dreamy slumber of distant mountains bathed in shadowy purple, such is the scene that in this our day greets the wandering artist. . . . Perhaps they then greeted the adventurous Frenchman. Peace on the wilderness; peace on the sea. Was there peace in this missionary bark, pioneer of Christianity and civilization? Far from it. A rabble of angry sailors clamored on her deck, ready to mutiny over the terms of their engagement. . . . The company, however, went ashore, raised a cross, heard mass, and named the place St. Savior.

Here are the elements of true imaginative history: the setting sketched with a few bold strokes, the personality, the event, the relation to the conquest of a new world. Few writers have ever established such sympathy and understanding between themselves and the personality of men whom they never saw.

I have said that it needs a seer to comprehend a statesman; in the same way it needs a poet to comprehend a seer. It is hard to find anywhere a clearer statement of the perplexities and the broad reach of history than Wordsworth's *Convention of Cintra*:

The history of all ages; tumults after tumults; wars, foreign or civil, with short or no breathing spaces, from generation to generation; wars—why and wherefore? yet with courage, with perseverance, with self-sacrifice, with enthusiasm. . . . The visible and familiar occurrences of daily life in every town and village; the patient curiosity and contagious acclamations of the multitude in the streets of the city and within the walls of the theatre; a procession, or a rural dance; a hunting, or a horse-race; a flood, or a fire; rejoicing and ringing of bells for an unexpected gift of good fortune, or the coming of a foolish heir to his estate.

Test this idea of the assemblage of historical events and characters to make an inspiring whole by an example from the writer who combines more of the qualities of a great historian than any other one man. Here Gibbon stands looking on at the triumph of an emperor:

Since the foundation of Rome, no general had more nobly deserved a triumph than Aurelian, nor was a triumph ever celebrated with superior pride and magnificence. The pomp was opened by twenty elephants, four royal tigers, and above two hundred of the most curious animals from every climate of the North, the East, and the South. They were followed by sixteen hundred gladiators, devoted to the cruel amusement of the amphitheatre. The wealth of Asia, the arms and ensigns of so many conquered nations, and the magnificent plate and wardrobe of the Syrian queen, were disposed in exact symmetry or artful disorder. . . . But every eye, disregarding the crowd of captives, was fixed on the emperor Tetricus, and the queen of the East. The former, as well as his son, whom he had created Augustus, was dressed in Gallic trowsers, a saffron tunic, and a robe of purple. The beauteous figure of Zenobia was confined by fetters of gold; a slave supported the gold chain which encircled her neck, and she almost fainted under the intolerable weight of jewels. She preceded on foot the magnificent chariot, in which she once hoped to enter the gates of Rome. . . . The most illustrious of the senate, the people and the army, closed the solemn procession. Unfeigned joy, wonder, and gratitude, swelled the acclamations of the multitude.

Gibbon was a grand man, the prince of historical writers, who, whatever he is writing, is always describing a triumph; for his sentences rank themselves right-forward and fours-right; his paragraphs succeed each other in platoons and squadrons; his chapters are army corps moving forward to the sound of trumpets and cymbals, banners flying, armor gleaming, commanders on caracoling horses, all moving forward steadily, resistlessly, and magnificently.

Let us now hear the conclusion of the whole matter. The danger of the historian is in imagination, that is, in the kind of imagination which invents details or seizes upon the unimportant ones, or combines them into pictures which are but the outside; which tell us nothing of the stir and movement of human souls, the clash of human wills, of the thinking of national thoughts. There is another kind of imagination which works from within outward; which makes the reader see, as the historian sees, the real characters of men; which divines their motives; which, allowing for human weaknesses and for the pressure of adverse circumstances, informs us whether this or that man, this or that people, this or that age, this or that standard has carried forward civilization, opened wide the gates for thought, liberated souls. There is no great history without large



imagination, any more than there is painting, or, for that matter, scientific discovery. Of all the writers of time not one has more clearly seen this task of the historian than the American sage Emerson:

You shall make me feel what periods you have lived. A man shall be the Temple of Fame. . . . I shall find in him the Foreworld; in his childhood the Age of Gold; the Apples of Knowledge, the Argonautic Expedition, the calling of Abraham, the building of the Temple, the Advent of Christ, Dark Ages, the Revival of Letters, the Reformation, the discovery of new lands, the opening of new sciences and new regions in man. He shall be the priest of Pan, and bring with him into humble cottages the blessing of the morning stars, and all the recorded benefits of heaven and earth.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

## THE WEALTH OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS IN ENGLAND AND THE DISPOSITION OF IT AFTER THEIR DISSOLUTION

THE wealth of the Templars, which was the immediate cause of the attack on them by Philip IV., has been variously computed but always in large and indefinite figures, owing partly to the difficulty in getting reliable statistics. Fortunately the archives of England contain materials which enable us to make reasonably accurate conclusions as to the location, management, and annual proceeds of the English Templars' landed property. When they were arrested in January, 1308, the sheriffs were required to take a detailed inventory of all movables on each Temple manor and summon juries from the neighborhood to estimate the normal annual value of each piece of property.<sup>1</sup> A second inquest was ordered March 4, 1309.<sup>2</sup> Better than all this fragmentary material are three great schedules of the Pipe Rolls which contain the detailed accounts rendered by the royal keepers of Temple lands, evidently copied from the original accounts, many of which are still extant in the collection of "Ministers' Accounts, General Series", in the Public Record Office.<sup>3</sup> In various other manuscript sources the assessed value of certain manors is named in connection with the appointment of a keeper for them. Unfortunately, no one class of this material gives complete data for all the Templars' possessions in England, either for any one year or for the whole period during which the king held the lands; but, by putting together the contents of the various sources, a fairly accurate compilation can be made to show the name and approximate annual value of each estate.

The following table gives the average annual value by counties, the results in the first column being obtained by computing the average annual net income received by the king, exclusive of the amounts realized by the sale of such movables as silver or brass dishes, etc., which the Templars would not have sold, and those in the second by adding the annual values of the property as appraised by local juries according to royal order.

<sup>1</sup> Claus. 1 Edw. II. m. 13d.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1307-1314, p. 94; Rymer, II. 70.

<sup>3</sup> L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18-21. (Roll 21 contains only material duplicating that in rolls 18-20.)

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Bedford	£ 65	11s.	3d.	£ 90	os.	7d.
Berkshire	7	3	4	96	13	6
Buckingham	29	9	2	34	2	10
Cambridge	130	11	7	121	19	7
Cornwall	2	12	7	.....		
Devon <sup>4</sup>	11	18	0	.....		
Essex	218	8	11	173	8	6
Gloucester	216	3	8	78	12	0
Hampshire	.....			7	13	6
Hereford	167	4	10	108	0	0
Hertford	156	2	11	158	1	9
Huntingdon	26	0	5	18	12	3
Kent	20	16	9	43	1	2
Leicester	246	16	11	.....		
Lincoln	934	9	8	132	15	6
London and Middlesex	22	4	3	64	0	10
Norfolk and Suffolk	13	19	8	27	11	11
Northampton	11	16	8	.....		
Northumberland	46	18	8	45	12	1
Nottingham (including lands in Derby)	.....			54	17	2
Oxford	268	1	10	203	7	4
Shropshire and Stafford	126	0	6	25	8	11
Somerset and Dorset	116	8	1	71	7	4
Surrey	32	18	4	33	1	2
Sussex	72	1	0	101	7	1
Wales	2	18	3	.....		
Warwick	238	7	7	130	8	6
Westmoreland <sup>5</sup>	7	6	1	.....		
Wiltshire	20	19	11	17	7	10
Worcester	21	1	6	21	0	6
York	1130	18	11	587	4	9

The total values are not easy to compute accurately because for some manors the king received almost nothing as compared to the appraisement of the jurors. In such cases the appraised value has been added instead of the previous insignificant amount. The results thus computed for all England show that the total annual value based on receipts was about £4720, and the total appraised value (of those appraised) was £2445 16s. 7d.

The total annual value of the Temple lands in Ireland as appraised by local juries was £411 11s. 2d., but the records of receipts show a very much smaller amount actually taken in at the exchequer.<sup>6</sup> For Scotland details regarding the Temple lands are

<sup>4</sup> There was Temple property in Derbyshire but no separate account of it is given in the exchequer records.

<sup>5</sup> Only a partial account was given for a few months.

<sup>6</sup> Exchequer, K. R. Accounts, bundle 239, no. 13. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 6165, fols. 195 ff., is a nineteenth-century copy of this.

difficult to obtain. Only three regular establishments appear in the records: Blantrodok, Culthur, and Templiston, and some lands in Berwick-on-Tweed, and no estimate of their value is given.<sup>7</sup> We have no means of computing the income of the Hospitallers in England for exactly this date; but in 1338, after their finances had been in great disorder for many years, they received an average annual revenue of £1385 6s. 6d. from their own estates and £1441 18s. from those formerly belonging to the Templars.<sup>8</sup> Thus it would appear that the Temple lands in England were only slightly more valuable than those of the Hospitallers, though some allowance must be made for Temple manors which the Hospitallers had deeded away.<sup>9</sup>

The value of the Templars' movable property was much less than we might expect. The inventories taken when they were arrested give a very precise account of all household goods, agricultural implements, stock, food, ecclesiastical goods, clothing, books, and all other articles, with the appraised value of each.<sup>10</sup> There is a marked absence of rich armor, vestments, and expensive trappings, showing that the Templars were living simple lives and cared little for luxury. Even the inventory of goods found at the New Temple, London, the headquarters of the order in England, shows few articles of value outside the Church, no cash, and no weapons except three swords and two balisters (one of which was broken).<sup>11</sup> The cash found in the chests of the preceptors through-

<sup>7</sup> Brit. Mus., Cotton MSS., Vespasian C. XVI., fol. 20 a; *Calendar of Documents rel. to Scotland*, III. 432.

<sup>8</sup> L. B. Larkin, "The Report of Prior Philip de Thame", in *Camden Society Publications*, vol. LXV. (1857), pp. 133-202.

<sup>9</sup> The records of the king's receipts from these, 1308-1313, show that their value is greatly overestimated in the report of Prior Philip. L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18-20.

<sup>10</sup> Most of these first inventories are to be found in P. R. O., L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18-20. Some of the originals have been preserved and are temporarily classified under Exchequer, K. R. Extents. Mr. Herbert Wood has printed the inventory of Clonaul in Appendix B (pp. 371-375) of his article on "The Templars in Ireland" in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. XXVI, section C, no. 14. With this exception, none of the earliest inventories have been printed. The later inventories are not complete, since the royal keepers sold or used up many articles which appear in the original inventories. For examples of these later inventories, see *Gentleman's Magazine* (new series), III. (July-December, 1857); W. Wheeler, *Temple Newsam* (Leeds, 1869); the *Scottish Antiquary*, XVIII. 83-87; and Hore, *History of the County of Wexford* (under the heading Kilcloghan).

<sup>11</sup> L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 20, m. 3. The value of the ecclesiastical goods found in the New Temple Church and adjoining chapels and altars amounted to £121 5s. 9d., and all other movables at the New Temple to £68 7s. 2d.

out England amounted to only £36 12s. 2d. The royal officials seem to have believed that much property had been concealed and several unsuccessful efforts were made to trace it.<sup>12</sup> It has been suggested that many Templars must therefore have escaped with their movable goods, but considering that the inquisitors' rigorous search resulted in the capture of only nine fugitives, other explanations seem more probable.<sup>13</sup> The grand master of England and several other prominent Templars were arrested in Kent and while imprisoned at Canterbury were allowed to keep their clothing, armor, and silver utensils worth £18 10s.<sup>14</sup> Throughout England the Templars were in very lax confinement in each county till September, 1309, and it is possible that some of them kept their armor and other valuables. A careful scrutiny of every available record shows that there were only one hundred and forty-four Templars in the British Isles and among these there were not more than twenty knights and sixteen priests.<sup>15</sup> Thus the great body of them were serving brothers or sergeants, common men remaining on the estates and busied with agricultural administration and labor. Hence the estates as a rule were provided only with the equipment needed for suitably maintaining the common manorial household and carrying on agriculture with the greatest profit.

The English branch of the order was valuable chiefly for the capital it produced, and the brethren appear to have been shrewd business men engaged extensively in that special industry which suited the locality: for example, the inventories of Bruer, Aslakeby, Eycle, and Wylughton (Lincolnshire) show that the Templars had thirty-eight sacks sixteen stone of wool stored away there.<sup>16</sup> In other sections they paid most attention to the grain crop, and in other parts to stock-raising as well. They derived a considerable income from the churches which they owned. Several of these

<sup>12</sup> L. T. R. Mem. 4 Edw. II. Trin. recorda dorse; 5 Edw. II. Mich. commis.; 1 Edw. II. Hil. brev. retorn. dorse; Pat. 3 Edw. II. m. 35d.

<sup>13</sup> H. H. Bellot, *The Inner and Middle Temple*, p. 17. Thirty palfreys and three sumpter horses valued at £78 4s. 8d. were found on the Temple estates. Had the Templars wished to escape, they could have done so. L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18-20.

<sup>14</sup> L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 20, m. 6d.

<sup>15</sup> The existing sources yield evidence of only six knights but it seems probable that the preceptors of Yorkshire and Ireland and some others were knights. Likewise there is evidence of only eight brothers who were priests.

<sup>16</sup> These Edward II. ordered to be delivered to the Society of the Ballardi in part payment of his debts to them. L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 20, m. 15-17. In 1298 the royal buyers of wool in co. Lincoln owed the Templars £134 15s. 7d.; in co. Cambridge, £15 3s. 4d.; and in co. Gloucester, £29 6s. 8d.; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292-1301, p. 332.

were worth from £30 to £40 each,<sup>17</sup> and one, Rothele Church (Leicester), brought an average net income of £76 1s. 1d. per year between 1308 and 1313.<sup>18</sup> They sometimes engaged in such enterprises as farming the revenues of other churches on the chance of profit, and, when there was a favorable opportunity, they even let out small outlying manors of their own.<sup>19</sup>

Since a desire to replenish the royal treasury from the Templars' property was an important motive for their arrest even in England, it will be interesting to learn how the king succeeded. Notwithstanding his denial of the pope's charge that he was misappropriating the Temple lands, it is certain that he began early to use them as his fancy or need dictated.<sup>20</sup> Within a month after their sequestration, he ordered all the wool which could be secured from them to be delivered to the Ballardi, merchants of Lucca, and the next year he likewise had a quantity of wool turned over to Henry Nasard in part payment of the royal indebtedness.<sup>21</sup> In 1308 he used the grain from the Temple estates in England and Ireland to supply his forces in Scotland.<sup>22</sup> The Templars had provided their preceptories with a good supply of meat and fish and from this the king drew to supply provisions for his coronation feast at Westminster.<sup>23</sup> The pious king also drew on the keepers of the

<sup>17</sup> Weston church and Baldok chapel (Herts) appraised at £43 6s. 8d.			
Wilburghham church	(Camb.)	" "	40.
Marnham	"	(Notts)	" " 43.
Donington	"	(Lincs.)	worth 32 14s. 11d.
Whitkyrke	"	(York)	" 38 10s.
Hunsinghoure	"	"	" 32 19 11.

<sup>18</sup> L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 19, m. 19-21.

<sup>19</sup> K. R. Mem. 2 Edw. II. m. 60 and 60d., Hil. recorda; L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 18, m. 15d., 17, etc.

<sup>20</sup> Roman Roll, 2 Edw. II., m. 6; *Regest. Clem. V.*, no. 5061; Rymer, II. 59-60, 65.

<sup>21</sup> L. T. R. Mem. 1 Edw. II. Pasch. brev. irretorn.; 2 Edw. II. Pasch. brev. return.

<sup>22</sup> L. T. R. Mem. 1 Edw. II. Hil. brev. return.; K. R. Mem. 2 Edw. II. m. 114 Mich. brev. irretorn.; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1307-1313, p. 81.

<sup>23</sup> L. T. R. Mem. 1 Edw. II. Hil. brev. return. (January 29, 1308). At Deneye (Camb.), a manor worth about £50 per year, the sheriff found 15 carcasses of beef, 4 of mutton, and 50 small sides of bacon, all of which were sent to London. L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 20, m. 7. At Temple Bruer (Lincs.), the average annual value of which was £285 15s. 11d., the sheriff found 10 carcasses of beef, 60 of mutton, and 40 sides of bacon. *Ibid.*, roll 20, m. 15. At Flaxfleet (York), a manor worth £115 15s. 3d. per year, there were 3 beef carcasses, 12 of mutton, 10 sides of bacon, 2000 herrings, and 20 fish "de Doggedrone, stokfish". *Ibid.*, roll 20, m. 40.



sequestered lands to pay arrears of salary due to his clerks,<sup>24</sup> to give alms to religious houses,<sup>25</sup> and to provide for Scotch refugees.<sup>26</sup> In 1312 he increased his income by cutting and selling considerable amounts of timber from the estates.<sup>27</sup>

Notwithstanding his failure to find much gold and treasure at the New Temple or other preceptories, Edward II. derived a good income from such movables as were found. Horses and stock, kitchen utensils, dishes, tools, and even ecclesiastical goods were disposed of in large quantities, especially just after the arrest. Moreover, when the king formally ordered his keepers to give up the Temple lands to the Hospitallers, he had all the larger animals and the movables delivered to various royal appointees, who sold them for what they would bring or gave them away at the king's order.<sup>28</sup> As a rule the estates were stripped bare of all stock, tools, and movable property which could be sold at any price. Occasionally a millstone or some large and rather unsalable article was left, but even in such cases the keeper seems to have felt bound to give special explanation for his remissness in leaving anything movable on the estate except the church ornaments and the grain already sown for the next crop.<sup>29</sup> Cash found in the chests of the preceptors at the various manors amounted to £36 12s. 2d., as far as the accounts show.<sup>30</sup> Payment of all debts due to the Templars was exacted from all debtors, great and small.<sup>31</sup>

It is very difficult to compute what the king received from the Temple lands in any one year, because of delays in rendering

<sup>24</sup> L. T. R. Mem. 2 Edw. II. Pasch. commis. dorse; Trin. brev. irretorn.; 5 Edw. II. Trin. brev. irretorn.; 6 Edw. II. Hil. brev. irretorn.; 6 Edw. II. and 7 Edw. II. Mich. brev. irretorn.; 8 Edw. II. Trin. brev. baron. m. 2d.; Mich. brev. baron. m. 6d.; K. R. Mem. 2 Edw. II. Pasch. commis. m. 12; 3 Edw. II. Mich. record. m. 45.

<sup>25</sup> L. T. R. Mem. 6 Edw. II. Pasch. brev. irretorn.

<sup>26</sup> *Cal. Docs. rel. to Scotland*, III. nos. 83, 84, 88, 240, 241, 250, 253, 256, 306, 311, 315, 338, 367; L. T. R. Mem. 2 Edw. II. Mich. brev. irretorn. Some of these refugees received certain manors free of rent.

<sup>27</sup> L. T. R. Mem. 10 Edw. II. Pasch. brev. baronibus; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1307-1313, p. 461.

<sup>28</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313-1317, pp. 44, 45; L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 19, m. 20, 23d. ff.

<sup>29</sup> The only articles remaining at Herberbury (Warwick) were the iron work of the mill (worth 6s. 8d.), the millstone (worth 2s.), and some fixtures for the mill (worth 1s.). These were delivered to the Hospitallers because no one would buy them. L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 19, m. 22 and 22d. Very frequently the accounts state that the movables left were worn out.

<sup>30</sup> L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18-20.

<sup>31</sup> K. R. Mem. 2 Edw. II. Trin. recorda m. 64 and 64d.; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1307-1313, pp. 185, 195; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1307-1313, p. 210; K. R. Mem. 2 Edw. II. Hil. brev. baron. m. 32.

accounts to the exchequer. The sheriffs who arrested the Templars had charge of the lands at first, but in most counties special keepers were soon appointed.<sup>32</sup> Some of these were required to render full account for the proceeds, while others owed to the exchequer only the total annual value as appraised by local juries.<sup>33</sup> Thus only in theory did the income from the Temple lands go entire into the royal treasury. Throughout the reign of Edward II., and even under Edward III., the exchequer memoranda rolls contain numerous orders to oblige the keepers or their heirs to settle their accounts.<sup>34</sup> The profits of most of the manors do not appear on the rolls for more than half the period of royal control and some never were accounted for.<sup>35</sup> Edward II. himself released some keepers from payments due to the exchequer,<sup>36</sup> and royal favorites exploited many of the estates to such an extent that the lords ordainers in 1311 required the resumption of Temple lands granted to them.<sup>37</sup> The payments recorded show that the king received a net income of £8840 os. 5d. from the English Temple lands from January 9-11, 1308, till November 28, 1313.<sup>38</sup> The only recorded receipts from the Scottish and Irish lands were £25 2s. 10d. and £390 19s. 8d.<sup>39</sup> Thus the net income of the king from all the Temple lands was £9256 2s. 11d., or an average of £1542 13s. 10d. per year for the six years. Edward II. was in such straits for money between 1310 and 1312 that this income must have given him valuable help, but it could not have played a large part in the normal revenue of the crown. The Wardrobe Account of Edward I. shows that the royal receipts were £58,155 16s. 2d. and the expenditures £64,105 os. 5d. for the year 1300, which was not marked by any extraordinary taxation.<sup>40</sup> The Wardrobe Accounts of Edward II. show an ex-

<sup>32</sup> L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18-20.

<sup>33</sup> L. T. R. Mem. 1 Edw. II. Hil. brev. return.; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1307-1313, p. 94; Rymer, II. 70.

<sup>34</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1333-1336, p. 477; L. T. R. Mem. 10 Edw. III. Trin. com. m. 13d.; 11 Edw. III. Mich. brev. return. and Mich. com. m. 1; K. R. Mem. 11 Edw. III. Pasch. com. m. 10 and Pasch. brev. baron. m. 13d.

<sup>35</sup> *E. g.*, Flaunfor (co. Nottingham) and Temple Sowerby (co. Cumberland).

<sup>36</sup> L. T. R. Mem. 5 Edw. II. Pasch. brev. baron.; 6 Edw. II. Mich. and Hil. brev. baron.; 9 Edw. II. Trin. recorda m. 122d.

<sup>37</sup> *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, II., pt. II., p. 689.

<sup>38</sup> These figures are based on a careful computation of the net income of the various estates as recorded in L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18-20, and Exchequer Miscellaneous Roll no. 87.

<sup>39</sup> Brit. Mus., Cotton MSS., Vespasian C. XVI., fol. 20 a; *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, III. 432; Exchequer, K. R. Accounts, bundle 239, no. 13.

<sup>40</sup> *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae*, ed. Topham (1787), pp. 15, 360, cited by Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, II. 575 and note 1.

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penditure of £61,032 9s. 11¾d. for 1316-1317; £36,866 16s. 3½d. for 1317-1318, and £45,343 11s. 11¾d. for 1320-1321.<sup>41</sup> If these figures may be trusted, the royal income from the Temple lands did not reach more than about four per cent. of the normal annual revenue of the crown.

Immediately after the dissolution of the Temple Order at the Council of Vienne, Clement V. ordered Edward II. to deliver the Temple property to the Knights Hospitallers at once.<sup>42</sup> For over a year, however, Edward refused to obey and not till November 28, 1313, did he order his keepers to give up the lands.<sup>43</sup> This by no means proves that the Hospitallers obtained immediate possession, for the removal of the royal keepers seems to have been the signal for a scramble in which the lords of the fees and the king were in a better position to succeed than the small number of Hospitallers. The Templars had accumulated their extensive properties gradually and held them under various tenures of many different lords.<sup>44</sup> This made it far from easy for the Hospitallers to gain possession of their gift from the pope, especially without the use of the Templars' deeds, charters, and rolls, which they had not secured by August 30, 1324.<sup>45</sup> They early secured some few of the estates,<sup>46</sup> but most were seized by neighboring lords, among whom Thomas of Lancaster, Robert de Holand, John de Moubray, Guy de Beauchamp, and Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, figure prominently. In fact a royal order of 1336 states that all the Temple lands came as escheats into the hands of the king and other lords of whom these lands were held.<sup>47</sup> The king himself kept some of them as his escheats or on various other pretexts,<sup>48</sup> and later acquired the large holdings forfeited by Thomas of Lancaster and

<sup>41</sup> T. Stapleton in *Archaeologia*, XXVI. 318, 319. Stubbs (II. 576) estimates that £65,000 may be taken to represent the ordinary revenue of the fourteenth-century kings in time of peace.

<sup>42</sup> Rymer, II. 168, 169; *Regest. Clem. V.*, no. 7886; Register of Archbishop Reynolds (Lambeth Palace), fol. 230 a.

<sup>43</sup> Rymer, II. 236, 237; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1313-1317, pp. 29, 88, 89.

<sup>44</sup> In 1303 the Templars held in Lincolnshire forty-seven different knights' fees or fractions of a fee of twenty-three different lords, and these were only such as they held by military tenure. *Feudal Aids* (R. S.), III. 130-229, Kirkby's Quest for Yorkshire, pp. 151-175, 204-205 ff.

<sup>45</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1323-1327, pp. 126, 208, 219.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 1313-1318, pp. 234, 388; *ibid.*, 1318-1323, p. 25.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 1333-1336, p. 638.

<sup>48</sup> *Cal. of Documents rel. to Scotland*, III., no. 428; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1333-1336, pp. 202, 442; *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1313-1317, pp. 214, 374, 466. Many instances show that the king acquiesced in the seizure of Temple lands by the lords. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1313-1318, pp. 154-155, 255, 263; *ibid.*, 1318-1323, pp. 25, 438.

his friends.<sup>49</sup> Even when the lands of Thomas's party were restored in 1327, many Temple estates were restored to the lords and special definite orders were needed to cause the sheriffs to deliver them to the Hospitallers.<sup>50</sup>

During all these years after 1312, the Hospitallers were making every effort to secure the Temple lands, and the popes did not fail to order the king, nobles, and clergy to assist them.<sup>51</sup> Edward II., however, protested that he had done all he could by giving up possession himself and could not oust the lords.<sup>52</sup> The clergy do not appear to have been at all zealous to help the Hospitallers, in spite of papal bulls and the vigorous measures of Archbishop Reynolds.<sup>53</sup> John XXII. even required the bishops to defy the royal prohibition and unite in Parliament in order to expel lay occupiers of Temple lands, and instructed his legates in England to use ecclesiastical censures to enforce the restitution of such lands.<sup>54</sup>

These efforts proving of no avail, the Hospitallers turned to the more effective method of bribery. As early as 1313 they had granted to Hugh le Despencer the manor of Wyshangre in Gloucestershire,<sup>55</sup> and in 1324 Prior Thomas Larcher granted to Hugh the Younger the manors of Penkern in Wenthelok in Wales, Bustlesham, Temple Gutying, Bollestrode, and Carleton-by-Basingham, all formerly the property of the Templars and worth over £251 per year net.<sup>56</sup> This grant was made immediately after they received them as the result of the statute of 1324, probably by previous agreement.<sup>57</sup> On August 19, 1324, Prior Larcher also

<sup>49</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1323-1327, pp. 108, 481; *ibid.*, 1327-1330, pp. 155, 246, 286; L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 14, m. 12, 25, 26d, 27; Ministers' Accounts, General Series, bundle 835, nos. 2, 4.

<sup>50</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1327-1330, pp. 19-20, 51, 101-102, 152, 155, 266; *ibid.*, 1318-1323, p. 442; *ibid.*, 1330-1333, p. 496; *ibid.*, 1333-1336, p. 149; *Rot. Parl.*, II. 12b and appendix pp. 420-423.

<sup>51</sup> *Regest. Clem. V.*, nos. 7885, 7886; Rymer, II. 168.

<sup>52</sup> Roman Roll, 12 Edw. II., m. 11.

<sup>53</sup> Archbishop Reynolds soundly rebuked Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, for securing an inhibition from the archiepiscopal court to prevent the Hospitallers from presenting to a prebend in the church of Salisbury which had belonged to the Templars, and quashed the court's decision. Register of Archbishop Reynolds (Lambeth Palace), fol. 70b.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 230b; Cambridge University Library, MS. Martinus D. I. i. 3. 7, fols. 153-155; Sebastiano Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico*, II. 50-51, 75; Rymer, II. 487-488.

<sup>55</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1336-1339, p. 87.

<sup>56</sup> *Cal. Patent Rolls*, Edw. III., V. 39; VII. 22; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. III., I. 13-14, 86; II. 11, III. 211; VIII. 92. The appropriated churches on these lands were reserved by the Hospitallers. The value of these estates is computed from the accounts of the royal keepers in L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18-20.

<sup>57</sup> *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1334-1338, pp. 204-205.

deeded to the king in fee simple the manors of Templehirst, Templenewsam, Flaxflete, Deneye, and Strode, all Temple property and worth over £432 per year net.<sup>58</sup> Besides these gifts, the purpose of which is evident, a number of influential persons about the court were kept favorable to the Hospitallers by various means shown in the report of Prior Philip de Thame in 1338. Sir Robert de Silkeston, for example, who in 1322 was one of two auditors of the accounts for the lands of Earl Thomas and others who held Temple lands,<sup>59</sup> was in 1338 receiving from the Hospitallers about £142 per year in pensions, lands, or churches.<sup>60</sup> Grants of various sorts were made to a large number of persons who had enough influence to help or hinder them.<sup>61</sup> Pensions were paid to many royal officials for maintaining the lands and liberties of the Hospitallers and for help in securing those of the Templars.<sup>62</sup> There was also a distribution of robes to one hundred and forty officials at a cost of £10 per year, and an expenditure of some two hundred marks a year in gifts to the king's judges and other magnates to have favor, for pleas to be defended, and for the expenses of parliaments.<sup>63</sup> Indeed the long continued litigation necessary to get their rights required the Hospitallers to have many friends at court.<sup>64</sup>

With the aid of the king and the Despencers, the Hospitallers secured the enactment of a statute stating that no lord had any title or right to the Temple lands by escheat or otherwise, and granting them to the Hospitallers.<sup>65</sup> Accordingly, on May 16, 1324, the sheriffs were ordered to take possession of the lands and carry out the statute.<sup>66</sup> Even then the king willed that all movables on the lands should be returned to their owners and that the Hospitallers pay for the crops already sown. Finally, on July 1, 1324, the royal keepers in various counties were ordered to permit the sheriffs to deliver the Temple lands to the Hospitallers and only then was the

<sup>58</sup> Rymer, II. 567; *Cal. Patent Rolls, Richard II.*, I. 444.

<sup>59</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1318-1323, p. 442.

<sup>60</sup> Larking, "The Knights Hospitallers in England, being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A. D. 1338", *Camden Society Publications*, LXV. 56, 116, 143, 153, 161.

<sup>61</sup> Some were receiving the issues of one or more manors without paying any rent, some received a manor for a very low rent, and some received pensions for life in return for giving up a Temple manor to the Hospitallers. *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 184-186, etc.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 203-204.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Cotton MSS., Nero E. VI., fols. 135-136; County Placita, Hertford, nos. 7, 8; Chancery Misc., bundle 49, file 1, no. 6, for some examples of this litigation.

<sup>65</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, I. 194-196; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1323-1327, p. 91.

<sup>66</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1323-1327, p. 111.

previous order executed.<sup>67</sup> Notwithstanding this, there is considerable evidence that there were further delays in getting possession of much of the property. The prior of the English Hospitallers wrote to the grand master on July 20, 1328, that in the preceding year he had received only £458 1s. 10d. from the Temple lands.<sup>68</sup> In 1338 his total income from them was £1441 18s. Hence a considerable portion was not yet in their possession or they could not re-stock them sufficiently to obtain their normal profits. In some counties the lords defied the statute and continued to hold the lands. On September 9, 1332, the sheriff of Somerset was ordered to sequester all such lands in the county, and on December 15, 1332, was directed to deliver them to the Hospitallers.<sup>69</sup> The sheriff of Devon received similar directions regarding the manor and church of Cleyhangre.<sup>70</sup>

The difficulties of the Hospitallers were aggravated by great delay in securing the Temple archives, without which they often could not prove their claims to property, and especially by the great disorder of their finances.<sup>71</sup> The whole order and its various branches were almost overwhelmed by a burden of debt, incurred mainly for their expedition to conquer and hold the island of Rhodes but partly perhaps by the large payments needed to secure the Temple property.<sup>72</sup> There seems to have been a general inclination among the royal officials and magnates to extort as much as possible from them and keep back their property.<sup>73</sup> The prior was summoned by the exchequer again and again to pay certain debts which it was claimed that the Templars owed to the king. Orders were secured from the king postponing the collection of these, but not till November 24, 1336, were the exactions definitely forbidden, after the Hospitallers had suffered much from distraints levied on this pretext.<sup>74</sup> It was only by continually importuning the

<sup>67</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1323-1327, p. 117. Chancery Miscellaneous Rolls (unclassified), bundle 17, no. 3, is a bundle of much defaced loose writs, embodying the order of May 16, 1324. There are nineteen of these writs, each endorsed with the sheriff's statement that he had executed the order. A late entry in the Templar cartulary for Oxfordshire (Bodleian Library, Wood MSS., 10, fol. 90b) shows that the sheriff delivered the manor of Temple Sibeford to the Hospitallers on July 3, 1324.

<sup>68</sup> *Camden Soc. Pubs.*, LXV. 217.

<sup>69</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1330-1333, pp. 496, 514.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 1333-1336, p. 149.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 1323-1327, pp. 126, 203, 219, 500, 501.

<sup>72</sup> *Regest. Clem. V.*, nos. 4769, 4772, 5384; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1323-1327, p. 545; *Camden Soc. Pubs.*, LXV. 217-219.

<sup>73</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, *Edw. III.*, V. 410; VI. 291; VIII. 135, 188.

<sup>74</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1330-1333, p. 112; *ibid.*, 1333-1336, pp. 638, 661; K. R. Mem. 11 *Edw. III. Mich. brev. baronibus m. 38*. This claim that the Templars owed the king any considerable sum at the time of their arrest is about as unbelievable as a similar claim made and enforced by Philippe le Bel.



king and securing frequent royal letters of protection, confirmations of charters, and other royal letters from 1324 to 1340, that the Hospitallers were able to make progress against the obstructions placed in their way.<sup>75</sup> By 1338 their efforts had been rewarded with considerable success and they had obtained at least nominal possession of most of the Temple estates except those deeded to the Despencers and the king. Thus the lands of the Templars were ultimately gathered together in the hands of their rivals, not to be scattered till the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII., to whom the events of 1307-1312 might have furnished an interesting precedent had he wished for one.

The difficulties of the English Hospitallers were duplicated on the Continent, for every one in any position of power made the most of his opportunities to secure a share of the plunder and exact large payments before giving it up. In Portugal, Aragon, and Castile, the Hospitallers got none of the estates; in France, Germany, and Italy they secured part of their legacy after long delays. In fact the immediate result of the dissolution of the Temple Order was a wild orgy of plunder which quickly passed beyond papal control and gave the lie to Clement's plea that to delay the order's dissolution would cause dilapidation of its property to the damage of the Holy Land.

CLARENCE PERKINS.

<sup>75</sup> London Letter-Book E., p. 255; *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1327-1330, p. 192; *ibid.*, 1330-1334, pp. 244, 274; *ibid.*, 1334-1338, p. 158; *ibid.*, 1342-1346, pp. 78-79.

## WÖLLNER AND THE PRUSSIAN RELIGIOUS EDICT OF 1788, I.

IN no field of thought did the eighteenth century—the wonderful eighteenth century—work a more complete change than in the matter of religion and in men's attitude toward the Church and theological creeds. Luther's movement and its outcome to 1700 had left the religious world theologically minded, superstitious, ignorant, and narrow. But two centuries of conflict had somewhat exhausted the theological contestants and when the age of Louis XIV. closed at the Treaty of Utrecht, continental Europe and especially Germany found that the din of theological discussion had measurably abated. Men began to care less for what Calvin or Luther or Flacius Illyricus or Melancthon thought, and more for toleration and the real teachings of Christ.

In the development of this more tolerant attitude many men and many movements had played their part. Some of the men and some of the contributory lines of thought lie as far back as the centuries before Petrarch. The sum total of this revolution in men's thought, a revolution as great as that effected by Christian philosophy in the classical world, we call by the untranslatable and almost undefinable term of "Aufklärung".<sup>1</sup> Its keynote was the sovereignty of reason, the breaking of the binding limitations of authority in all fields of thought. In Germany the philosophy of Leibniz as interpreted and popularized by Thomasius and Wolff is one element. The beginnings of scientific thought and the critical attitude of English thinkers and naturalists like Locke, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, Tolland, and Collins,<sup>2</sup> who found their translators and interpreters in Germany, are another factor, and the age, by rough and ready methods of advance, was justifying the judgment of Kant pronounced in 1781, "Unser Zeitalter ist das eigentliche Zeitalter der Kritik, der sich alles unterwerfen muss." In

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the excellent article on *Aufklärung* by Troeltsch in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie* (third edition edited by Dr. A. Hauck, Leipzig, 1897 ff.), II., also the illuminating essays by Dilthey in *Deutsche Rundschau* (1900-1901), CVII. and by Troeltsch in *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, CXIV. 30 ff. For an attempt to define *Aufklärung*, cf. Lorenz v. Stein, *Innere Verwaltung* (Stuttgart, 1884), I. 509 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Hettner, *Literaturgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, II. 232; Spalding, *Lebensbeschreibung*, pp. 17 and 28. Spalding translated Shaftesbury.

the field of religious effort itself Germany in the first quarter of the century was strongly influenced by a movement of a different character, that of Spener and the Pietists.<sup>3</sup> Here definitely was a group of men who sought to elevate true piety above the theologians' creeds, to better the debased character of the preaching in Lutheran pulpits, to introduce the spirit of toleration between sects and in the treatment of the unorthodox.

The ideals of the age in matters of religious toleration, its application of philosophy and natural law to religion, its growing indifference to the Old Testament teachings, and its rationalistic attitude toward Christ and the New Testament, are epitomized in the writings and politics of "the most untheological of the Hohenzollerns",<sup>4</sup> Frederick the Great. Prussia by its very history from the days of John Sigismund and the Great Elector was that state in all Europe where religious toleration was a necessary part of the ruler's political creed. In Frederick, Prussia had a ruler to whom all ideas of the age of "*cujus regio, ejus religio*" were wholly alien. His position,<sup>5</sup> reiterated over and over again in private utterances and public documents and enforced by governmental acts, is nowhere more adequately summarized and eulogized than by Kant in his essay, *Was ist Aufklärung*.<sup>6</sup>

A prince who does not find it beneath him to say that he considers it his duty not to dictate to men in matters of religion but to leave them complete freedom in such matters, who thus rejects for himself the claim of being tolerant, is himself enlightened and deserves to be acclaimed by his grateful contemporaries and by posterity as the one who at least from the standpoint of the government recognizes the human race as of age and leaves everyone to make use of his reason in matters of conscience. Under him respected ministers of the gospel, without prejudice to the claims of their calling, may as scholars present for consideration freely and openly those opinions in which their judgment and views vary from accepted creeds—a course that is still more definitely open to those who are limited by no obligations of office. This spirit of freedom is gradually spreading to other lands, even into countries where it has to battle with the hindrances offered by a government that does not understand itself. For these governments have a proof that, with this freedom, public order and harmony have not the least thing to fear. Mankind gradually purges itself of its crudity and roughness if there is not some definite effort to keep it back.

<sup>3</sup> Lévy-Bruhl, *L'Allemagne depuis Leibniz* (Paris, 1890), pp. 28 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Preuss, *Zeit. für Preuss. Gesch. und Landeskunde*, II. 746.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. H. Pigge, *Die religiöse Toleranz Fr. d. Gr.*, etc. (Mainz, 1898), and the review of it in *Forschungen zur Brand.-Preuss. Gesch.*, XII. 299. Cf. also *Zeit. für Preuss. Gesch. und Landeskunde*, II. 746 ff., also biographies of Frederick by Koser, Winter, and Preuss.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by Hettner, *sup. cit.*, vol. II., pt. 111., pp. 25-26.

Though it is thus easy to indicate the general trend of the century in religious affairs, it is not easy or safe to generalize concerning actual religious conditions in Prussia at the close of Frederick's reign. The complexity and variety is similar to that which will some time confound the historian of nineteenth-century thought when he passes in review such names as Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, Newman, Strauss, Renan, Alexander Campbell, Joseph Smith, Delitzsch, Harnack, Mrs. Eddy, General Booth, and Dowie.<sup>7</sup> Similarly the culture-historian of the eighteenth century passes, in the century which produced Newton and Bayle and Leibniz and Voltaire, to the explanation of the power of a Wesley, a Zinzendorf, a Swedenborg, a Cagliostro, and a Mesmer.

Even in the tolerant age of Frederick the Great, there were published by the adherents of the old orthodoxy pamphlets so bitter that they are in themselves an argument for liberalism.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the evidence is clear that some pulpits were occupied by men who preached anything but religion and used their opportunities to spread all sorts of heterodox or absurd views.<sup>9</sup> The latter class, who were very often only seekers for notoriety, made the most noise, and obscured the fact that the great mass of ministers in the provinces were true to the Lutheran principles though not orthodox in the old sense.<sup>10</sup>

The prevailing tendency in the pulpit was to disregard creeds and theological differences, though stiff sectarians were to be found battling valiantly for the old beliefs and denouncing any liberal thinker as a Socinian or a naturalist.<sup>11</sup> The much praised harmony was often an enforced one, for the opposing groups knew that Frederick would not permit persecutions or proselyting<sup>12</sup> in the

<sup>7</sup> Cf., for instance, the article by H. Driesmanns in *Deutsche Kultur*, December, 1907, summarizing views of Harnack, Pfleiderer, Naumann, and others.

<sup>8</sup> It is in their pamphlets and books much more than in their sermons that the religious *Aufklärer* made themselves obnoxious to the conservatives.

<sup>9</sup> Eylert in his *Charakterzüge aus dem Leben Friedrich Wilhelms III.*, I. 481, tells the story of the minister who was going to baptize a child in the name, not of the Trinity, but of Frederick the Great, and who received a severe reprimand from the king.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. [Ulrich], *Ueber den Religionszustand in den Preussischen Staaten, passim*. It is interesting to note that in praising the tolerant and liberal spirit in Berlin he makes mention that families of different creeds now lived on different floors of the same house and landlords no longer inquired about a prospective tenant's religion.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 183-184.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Publicationen aus den K. Preuss. Staatsarchiven* (Lehmann), vol. X., nos. 155, 223, and vol. XIII., no. 760. It is interesting to note that in the eighteenth century there are more royal rescripts against proselyting than there are against irreligion. Sectarian squabbles were a greater cause for uneasiness and disorder than the lapse of real religious interest of which they were a sign and a cause.

name of either heterodoxy or orthodoxy. The opinion of a writer in Nicolai's *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, the organ of the *Aufklärung*, though written from a point of view hostile to the orthodox and sectarian ideas and appearing in a magazine so bitterly opposed to Wöllner and his policies that it was driven out of Berlin, may be quoted as a fairly satisfactory statement. It means to put the liberal teachers and preachers in a most favorable light, but, as one reads it, it is easy to see how the orthodox and conservative party would find grounds for complaint against religious teachers who in the name of advanced thought and liberal views disregarded the creeds, treated the Old Testament as of interest to Jews alone, and selected from the New Testament only those parts which were given as the direct words of Jesus.<sup>13</sup>

"It is undeniable", says the writer referred to above, "that the controlling spirit of our age has no particular zeal for certain differences in church creeds and above all no great desire to be thoroughly informed concerning the dogmas themselves nor to be convinced of their truth. The largest part of our religious contemporaries value much more highly the useful knowledge of those principles of Christianity which lead to righteousness and contentment than they do a knowledge of those tenets which divide church parties and over which the theologians have wrangled."<sup>14</sup> The same writer in another place <sup>15</sup> is equally free to admit what has been indicated above, that "there unquestionably have been among the ministers of the gospel shallow pates, superficial parrots and prattlers, the grossly ignorant and arrogant fools who sought to make a sensation—and others lacking discretion, hot-headed and rash, who without consideration for the weak or reverence for age and regard for their older fellow-preachers have sought rather to destroy than to build up [belief] among the masses." But he contends that it is unjust to condemn all ministers as corrupters of the people simply on account of this group.

He then goes on to sketch the influence of Spener and the increasing tendency to toleration and moderation and church union.

<sup>13</sup> Berlin Archives, Rep. 9, F. 2, a. 1796–1797. This volume contains a rare copy of a pamphlet by the notorious Cranz, *Fragmente über verschiedene Gegenstände der neuesten Geschichte* (Berlin and Frankfurt, 1791). The pamphlet contains a very good survey of pulpit and religious conditions at that time. The one thing it emphasizes is the general opposition to the Religious Edict and the emphasis it laid on creeds in which no one had any interest. Cf. contemporary pamphlets on the trial under the Religious Edict of one of the most radical of these preachers, a man known to his generation as "Pigtail" (Zopf) Schulz.

<sup>14</sup> *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, CXIV. 34–37; [Ulrich], *Ueber den Religionszustand*, etc., I. 156 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, CXIV. 43–44.

In his opinion the French and English deistic writers by subjecting Christianity to a searching critical examination had found its weak points, thus forcing it to yield ground and in turn making some concessions themselves. The result was to be seen in the topics presented in the pulpit. The sermons of the day neglect matters of dogma or take them for granted, and present the claims of practical Christianity. "This is the result", says Henke, "not alone of the compulsion of their own views but of the feeling of the necessity of the times that any one who would teach must very naturally accommodate himself to the viewpoint and wishes of those whom he would instruct. It is the contagious force of the *Zeitgeist*, the power of an irresistible on-rushing current which has produced and developed this way of thinking." This second reformation had come slowly and without tumult but it was there. "It is the will of Providence that it should go on . . . It is this progress that the Religious Edict seeks to hinder—nor that alone, for it would not only prescribe the boundaries of the stream but turn it back."<sup>16</sup>

Despite this exceedingly favorable view of the results of the *Aufklärung* on religious teaching it must be borne in mind that it comes from one of the devotees of the movement and that it is considerably tempered by the frank admissions already quoted. Spalding was one whose early intellectual interests were stimulated by the philosophy of Wolff and by translating Shaftesbury and whose preaching activity was in Berlin, the centre of the religious *Aufklärung*. Yet he calmly states in his autobiography, written while he was struggling against Wöllner, that the spread of free-thinking through periodicals among all classes of readers threatened the very basis of morality,<sup>17</sup> and that for several years before Frederick's death there had been a general feeling that the new régime would bring a change in the religious policy—as the progressists hoped—without limiting freedom of conscience or research.<sup>18</sup> When we have such evidence it inclines us to believe that "the gradual decline of Protestant Christianity as a church and its gradual growth in strength as an ethical or political principle"<sup>19</sup> had been accompanied by evils so generally recognized in Germany

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Henke in *Allg. D. Bibliothek*, CXIV. 34-37.

<sup>17</sup> Spalding, pp. 105-107; F. Samuel G. Sack, *Bildnisse jetzt lebender Berliner Gelehrten*, pp. 35-37; *id.*, *Ueber die Vereinigung der beiden protestantischen Kirchenparteien*, etc. (Berlin, 1812), pp. 12-15; Gieseler, *Ecclesiastical History*, V. 311-320; Baur, *Kirchengeschichte*, IV. 593 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Spalding, p. 110.

<sup>19</sup> Nippold, *Kirchengeschichte*, I. 205 ff.



outside Berlin<sup>20</sup> as to justify some definite attempt to curb its excesses.<sup>21</sup> The question at issue was not so much the necessity of some reform as it was the nature of the measures to be taken, the proper authority to take them, and the spirit of their administration.<sup>22</sup> The answer to this question lies in the character of the new king and of his chief adviser in religious matters.

In comparison with the long list of men whom the Catholic service by its more varied demands and essentially wider views of the activity of churchmen has trained for statesmanship, Protestantism, outside of the group represented by Calvin, Knox, and Zwingli, can offer only the ultimate results on colonial expansion of the zeal and aggression of its missionaries. This absence of ecclesiastics in affairs is most strikingly noticeable in Lutheran states. Indeed

<sup>20</sup> Stölzel, *Svarez*, p. 255, quotes Lessing to Nicolai (*Ges. Werke*, XXVII. 269) "Sagen Sie mir von Ihrer berlinischen Freiheit zu denken und zu schreiben ja nichts; sie reduziert sich einzig und allein auf die Freiheit gegen die Religion soviel Sottisen zu Markte zu bringen als man will."

<sup>21</sup> "Gewiss hatte die gegen das Ueberwuchern der Aufklärung eintretende Reaction ihre volle Berechtigung." Stölzel, *sup. cit.* The Consistory in their protest against the edict (see below) are as severe in their condemnation of existing conditions as Wöllner could be. Cf. *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie* (1859), XXIX. 9-17.

<sup>22</sup> There is not space in this article to present fully the material available on religious conditions in Prussia at this time. Of printed sources the two most extensive are the mildly conservative journal *Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica Nostri Temporis* (13 vols., with a full index in the last volume, Weimar, 1776-1789), and its continuations, *Acten, Urkunden, und Nachrichten zur neuesten Kirchengeschichte* (3 vols., Weimar, 1789-1793) and *Archiv für die neueste Kirchengeschichte* (6 vols., Weimar, 1795-1799). These journals are especially full on the subject of religious legislation in all lands, whether Catholic or Protestant. The liberal theological views are represented in the second source, [Joh. H. F. Ulrich], *Ueber den Religionszustand in den preussischen Staaten seit der Regierung Friedrich des Grossen, in einer Reihe von Briefen* (5 vols., Leipzig, 1778-1780). Many of these letters are based on personal observation and many more are based on material gathered by acquaintances or from such sources as the *Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica* (see above). The author was a prominent minister of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Berlin, a translator of Leibniz, and one of the principal contributors to the *Berlinische Gelehrte Zeitung*. Cf. Meusel, *Lexikon der vom Jahre 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen Deutschen Schriftsteller* (Leipzig, 1815), XIV. Ulrich's work is particularly valuable for educational as well as religious conditions. To these may be added the autobiographies of Spalding, Semler, and Sack. Such secondary works as Philippson, Pigge, Nippold, Hettner, Stölzel, Troeltsch, Geiger, Gieseler, Preuss, Koser, H. Schmid (*Geschichte der katholischen Kirche Deutschlands*, etc., München, 1874), and Baur deal with the subject from different points of view. Cf. also J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von Leibnitz bis auf unsere Zeit* [1814] (4 vols., Berlin, 1886-1890); M. v. Geismar (pseud. for Edg. Bauer), *Bibliothek der deutschen Aufklärer des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1846); Biedermann, *Geschichte Deutschlands im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*; H. v. Mühler, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenverfassung in der Mark Brandenburg* (Weimar, 1846); G. Frank, *Gesch. d. protestantischen Theologie*, etc.

it is Prussia which furnishes the most noteworthy instance of the failure of the narrow-minded ecclesiastic in a ministerial position. In all the long list of two hundred and sixty men who have served the Hohenzollerns as ministers, the name of Reverend Johann Christof von Wöllner, Minister of Religion under Frederick William II., is the one condemned to execration without defense. His name in a land of *Lern-* and *Lehrfreiheit* is one forever connected with a serious attack on the freedom of faith, conscience, and the sacred guarantees of law, and this at a most untoward time—directly following the close of the long and essentially liberal reign of Frederick the Great and on the eve of the French Revolution.<sup>23</sup>

The story of Wöllner's career and acquisition of the ministerial title would be noteworthy in any age or state, but it is particularly striking when its setting is the feudal, military, absolutistic state of Brandenburg-Prussia at the close of the eighteenth century. Born of a pastor's family in 1732 at Döberitz in the Mark, he had made a very creditable academic record both in his preparatory school and as a student of theology at Halle, where he numbered among his instructors the famous Professor Wolff, restored to his chair by Frederick the Great after having suffered for his views under Frederick's father.<sup>24</sup> At twenty-three Wöllner was a pastor and tutor on a large estate. His sermons, some of which were published, are saturated with rationalism and would serve as excellent examples of the very *Aufklärungsgeist* which Wöllner fought so vigorously during his later career. Their mediocrity is a sufficient explanation of why he saw a larger opportunity opened to him by the favor of his patron's widow.

Resigning his pastorate in favor of his father, Wöllner became in 1762 the manager of the widow's estates and practised with con-

<sup>23</sup> *Zur Beurteilung des Staatsministers von Wöllner*, by J. D. Preuss, in *Zeitschrift für Preussische Gesch.*, II. 577-604, 746-774; III. 65-95. Preuss names three ministers who were in disgrace for official acts, Schwartzberg under the Great Elector, Danckelmann whom Frederick I. disgraced and Frederick William I. pardoned, and Görne, punished by Frederick II. for defalcation and pardoned by Frederick William II.

<sup>24</sup> For a brief and colorless outline of Wöllner's life with a list of his publications, cf. J. G. Meusel, *Lexikon d. vom Jahre 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen Deutschen Schriftsteller* (Leipzig, 1816). Also *id.*, *Das Gelehrte Deutschland* (with portrait of Wöllner, Lemgo, 1800), and Hirsching, *Historisches-literarisches Handbuch berühmter und denkwürdiger Personen welche in dem 18ten Jahrhundert gelebt haben* (Leipzig, 1813), XVI. An excellent account of Wöllner in addition to those by Bailieu and Preuss upon which I have freely drawn is that by Tholuck in Herzog's invaluable *Realencyclopaedie*, XXIII.

siderable energy and success the arts of a literary agriculturist.<sup>25</sup> His marriage a few years later to the daughter of his patroness was consummated twenty-four hours before indignant relatives, who had complained to Frederick the Great, could bring effective opposition against this union of an unclassed pastor with a girl of noble birth. The ensuing investigation cleared Wöllner and resulted in the release of his wife, though her property was kept out of Wöllner's hands by establishing a sort of guardianship to manage it. There it remained throughout Frederick's life, and a request for Wöllner's ennoblement was returned by Frederick with the marginal comment: "Das geht nicht an. Der Wöllner ist ein betriegerischer und Intriganter Pfaffe, weiter nichts."

But Wöllner's knowledge of agriculture and interest in the subject gave him employment in several directions. From 1770, the year he took up his residence in Berlin, to 1786, he was steward of the estates of Frederick the Great's younger brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, and he was at various times of service in minor governmental positions, being sent on one occasion to investigate the peat industry in Holland. From 1765 to 1780 he reviewed works on agriculture and similar topics for the great organ of the *Aufklärung* in Berlin, Nicolai's *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, a magazine which ranked in the Germany of that day with the publications of Schlözer, Posselt, Häberlin, and Schubart.<sup>26</sup>

Unsatisfied in his ambitions by his own actual accomplishments, which were clearly failing to give him eminence and influence or their semblance, Wöllner found comfort for a time at least in the petty prominence given him by his connection with the Freemasons. Here he hobnobbed with a half-dozen princes and was the mouth-piece on public occasions of his lodge and their representative at conventions. For a time also, as he passed from degree to degree,

<sup>25</sup> His work in this line and his success as an adviser of Prince Henry were of some note. His publications include, besides the reviews in Nicolai's *Allg. D. Bibliothek*, Franz Home's *Grundsätze des Ackerbaues und des Wachstums der Pflanzen aus dem Englischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen begleitet* (Berlin, 1763, third edition, Berlin, 1782); *Unterricht zu einer auserlesenen ökonomischen Bibliothek bestehend in einer Anzeige der besten ökonomischen Bücher, und derer vornehmsten in grösseren Werken zerstreut befindlichen Abhandlungen über alle Theile der Landwirthschaft* (2 Theile, Berlin, 1764-1765); *Die Aufhebung der Gemeinheiten in der Mark Brandenburg nach ihren grossen Vortheilen ökonomisch betrachtet* (Berlin, 1766), etc. On Wöllner's reform programme, cf. *Märkische Forschungen*, XX. 252 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Gallinger, *Die Deutsche Publizistik und der Amerikanische Unabhängigkeitskrieg* (Leipzig dissertation, 1900), and on Schlözer and Schubart an article by the writer in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII. 1-32.

he might hope that ultimately he would find the spring of mystical knowledge and world-philosophy, in the search for which Wöllner is a representative of certain elements in his day and generation.<sup>27</sup> But the way to knowledge and power was more directly opened to Wöllner by another society, the Rosicrucian Order (*Orden der Rosenkreuzer*).<sup>28</sup> The order of the Rosicrucians was one of the remarkable manifestations of religious and philosophic emptiness at the close of a century which had produced Cagliostro, Swedenborg, and Mesmer. Its purpose and general vacuity may be stated in the words of Wöllner: "To further powerfully the glory of the Almighty in a fallen world for the good of the human race and through the great knowledge and power given by divine mercy to the heads of the order alone."<sup>29</sup> Its actual accomplishments were proportioned to the sounding nothingness of Wöllner's definition of its aim. There were the usual conventions, collections of dues, lectures, and ceremonies of a purposeless secret society, supplemented by discussions of the transmutation of metals, chemical experiments, and secret cures for sickness. In all the activities<sup>30</sup> and foremost as a pamphleteer and orator of the order was Wöllner, a brother of the eighth degree, soon discontented because he was not admitted to the last and highest degree.

Whether or not Wöllner was ever admitted to the charmed circle of the ninth degree his biographers cannot say. The important thing is that his connection with the Rosicrucians had

<sup>27</sup> Cf. a remarkable letter of Wöllner's given by Bailieu in *Allg. D. Biographie*, XLIV. 151.

<sup>28</sup> There is no adequate general account of the Rosicrucians. Besides the pamphlet literature of the day and occasional paragraphs in such articles as those here referred to, on Wöllner, Bischoffswerder, and Frederick William II., see particularly Philippson, *Gesch. d. Preuss. Staatswesens*, I. 58 ff., and the bibliography there cited. On the Illuminati, an order similar to the Rosicrucians and often confused with it, cf. Dahlmann-Waitz, nos. 8272 and 8406. To the bibliography there given should be added L. Engels, *Gesch. d. Illuminatenordens* (Berlin, 1906), which deals with the Illuminati in Bavaria and purports to be written on the basis of thorough archival research; Ferdinand Katsch, *Die Entstehung und der wahre Endzweck der Freimaurerei auf Grund der Originalquellen dargestellt* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 690 ff. Cf. F. Kattenbusch's review of the latter work in *Hist. Zeit.*, 1899.

<sup>29</sup> *Allg. D. Biographie*, XLIV. 151. In 1782, Frederick II. wrote D'Alembert, "Have you heard that the Freemasons are founding a religious sect which is more senseless, and that is saying a good deal, than the other sects?" Quoted by Preuss in *Zeitschrift*, etc., *sup. cit.*, II. 586.

<sup>30</sup> He was soon head master over twenty-six circles. In 1782 he published a booklet called, *Die Pflichten der Gold- und Rosen-Creutzer alten Systems in Juniorats-Versammlungen abgehandelt von Chrysophiron*.

opened to him a career. On August 8, 1781, he helped to initiate Frederick William, Prince of Prussia, the heir to the throne.<sup>31</sup>

Frederick William II. is one of the mournful might-have-beens of history. Endowed though he was with many winning personal characteristics and a commanding physical presence, his education was in no way adequate to the burdens he now assumed. Of his youthful endowment of good character and high ideals there was left little more than the physical ability to form again and again oft-broken good resolutions and enough memory of moral values to realize how ill he kept them. A disintegrating character is fertile soil for the belief that extra-human powers and forces may give the strength and guidance that have failed from within. A morbid conscience, an ill-fed mind, and a weakened will coupled with a Hohenzollern conscientiousness and high opinion of his powers and responsibilities were the cranes of Ibycus that hovered over Frederick William II. and betrayed him into the hands of the mystics and mountebanks of Rosicrucianism.

From the day of his initiation into the society Ormesus (Frederick William II.), Heliconus (Wöllner), and Farferus (Bischoffswerder), for so they were designated in the jargon of the order, were united by bonds strong enough to convert three weak men into a real danger to the Prussian state in one of its most critical epochs.<sup>32</sup>

More definite and historically trustworthy, as a source of Wöllner's influence over the Prince of Prussia, than the mysteries of Rosicrucianism is his relation to Frederick William as instructor.<sup>33</sup> In 1783 Wöllner was appointed as lecturer on religious subjects to the Prince of Prussia. The prince was then almost forty years old, married for the second time after divorcing his first wife, and the father of an illegitimate child born the same year as his legitimate son, the later Frederick William III. This hopeful pupil and the scheming and dreaming tutor were not oppressed by the limitations of the field assigned for the lectures. Wöllner's lectures, which continued till Frederick William's accession to the throne three years later, ranged over the whole field of economic and social conditions

<sup>31</sup> The prince had joined the masons in 1772. Preuss in *Zeitschrift*, etc., II. 587.

<sup>32</sup> Other prominent members were Duke Frederick August of Brunswick, Prince Carl of Hesse, Duke Charles of Sudermanland, and Haugwitz, Minister of Foreign Affairs under Frederick William II. For reference to Prince Carl and Haugwitz in the order, cf. Ranke, *Sämmtliche Werke*, XLVII. 273-274.

<sup>33</sup> Wöllner had already made a favorable impression on the prince as the sort of man he needed to accomplish the work of combatting the tendencies of Frederick II.'s reign. Cf. Heigel, *Deutsche Geschichte*, I. 64.

in the Brandenburg-Prussia of that day. All that Wöllner knew in the field of agriculture, industry, forestry, finance, serfdom, and commerce, and it was a very respectable body of information, and all that he hoped for future reforms, which was limited only by the ambitions he cherished, are here summarized. "These lectures", says Bailleu in his discriminating biography, "regarded as a whole, constitute the severest contemporary criticism of the Frederickian system, and were at the same time a bold far-reaching revolutionary programme."<sup>34</sup>

"Reverently I lay at the feet of your royal majesty the most important of all my productions. It concerns religion." With these words Wöllner introduces and correctly characterizes the measures he proposes for the religious salvation of the Prussian state.<sup>35</sup> They are the most baleful and disastrous instructions ever poured into the ears of a Hohenzollern as he ascended the throne. The seventeen manuscript folios are divided into seven chapters headed respectively, (1) General Reflections on this Subject (Religion), (2) Toleration, (3) Decline of Religion in Prussia, (4) Decline of the Ministry in Prussia, (5) Royal Superior Consistory in Berlin, (6) Means by which Religion may be Restored to its Former Position in Prussia, (7) Auspicious Consequences of the Promotion of Religion on the Growth of the State.

With all the fervor of a religious revivalist he paints the blackness of the freethinking and irreligion for which he holds Frederick the Great chiefly responsible. Next after him he places the responsibility on Zedlitz,<sup>36</sup> his Minister of Worship, "a naturalist" and "denier of Christ", and on the Superior Consistory which falls so far short of the duties it should fulfil. He concludes his dark picture of the irreligion and immorality caused by the *Aufklärung* with a typical emotional appeal well calculated to affect such a religious hypocrite as Frederick William II.: "These then are the beautiful results of the *Aufklärung*! O, most gracious master, for God's sake, for the sake of your good people, be merciful in a coming time and give again to my poor Fatherland the pure religion of Jesus!"<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> He considers them, however, as being in essence nothing but superficial and mean-spirited attacks on the administrators and advisers of the passing king, lacking "moral earnestness and moral determination". For Wöllner's reform programme, cf. *Märkische Forschungen*, XX. 252 ff. For his ideas on the cabinet and the central administration, cf. H. Ulmann, *Die Kabinetregierung in Preussen und Johann Wilhelm Lombard* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 57-61 and appendix VII.

<sup>35</sup> Preuss in *Zeitschrift*, etc., II. 602-604.

<sup>36</sup> On Zedlitz, cf. Rethwisch, *Der Staatsminister Freiherr v. Zedlitz*, etc. (second edition, Berlin, 1886).

<sup>37</sup> Preuss, *sup. cit.*



The Wöllner dissertation on religion is not wanting in definite suggestions as to a programme and in gratuitous hints as to the kind of a minister to help carry it out. Irreligion and immorality, which have discouraged marriage and thus hindered population, are to be banished (1) by the example of the king—this to Frederick William who had been living in open adultery, (2) by the observance of Sunday—no army parades or similar breaches of the Sabbath, (3) by censorship of books, examination and supervision of pastors and priests by a minister of religion who is a real shepherd of souls (*Seelsorger*). There is to be toleration, of course, for the usual rhetorical trilogy of Jew, Turk, and heathen, but it is not to be the toleration which is weak enough to allow attacks on religion. Wöllner lays it down as fundamental that the individual may be allowed to think as he will, but this does not apply to the teacher or preacher, who is bound by his office to teach Jesus. When one considers the implications of the third plank in his platform, the inconsequential and unpolitical character of his thinking is apparent.

So much for the system. Now as for the man needed to direct it. Near the close of this lecture Wöllner describes him:

Most gracious Master, this or a similar instruction [*i. e.*, to the Minister of Public Worship to watch preachers, prevent Deism, Socinianism, indifferentism, etc.] cannot have other than the best result if your Royal Highness yourself shall some day dictate it to a privy councillor [and thus] have the ministers of the gospel restrained. But the Minister [of Public Worship] must not be a scoffer at religion as is Zedlitz, but a sagacious man who has religion himself and is at the same time a thorough patriot, serving not his own private ends and convenience but making the good of all the single business of his soul. Such a man will lighten very much this part of your Majesty's burdens of government, because your Highness can safely rely upon him.<sup>38</sup>

This paragraph may with propriety be considered one of the most timely conscious lapses into autobiography ever inserted into a semi-public document.

Frederick II. died on August 16, 1786. The new reign in its first year clearly won the confidence and approval of the great mass of the people. The milder tone assumed, the softening of Frederick's harsh military, absolutistic rule, the inauguration of many needed reforms in army, education, finance, and administration seemed the harbingers of a new era, except to the few who were looking for the dominant idea in all these undertakings, which if seriously begun and thoroughly executed would be of tremendous

<sup>38</sup> Preuss in *Zeitschrift*, etc., II. 604.

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significance to the future of Prussia. At the risk of leaving an incomplete view of the first two years of Frederick William II.'s reign, it is necessary to turn to one disquieting feature—the growing personal influence of the king's former associates in Rosicrucianism, especially of Wöllner.<sup>39</sup>

On October 2, the new king ennobled Wöllner, whose request for this honor Frederick had returned with the sarcastic words already quoted. Then he was made a member of the Royal Academy and a great mass of Frederick's papers and letters purchased by Frederick William from Frederick's secretary, to whom the late king had given them, were presented to Wöllner, who published a garbled and inaccurate selection from them. Offices of importance in the state for which he was in no way fitted were added to his honors. He was created a superior privy councillor of finance and made chief of the Building Department. More important than these positions were the duties which indicate his closeness to the throne and his opportunity for personal interference in all affairs of state and of exercising personal influence over the king. He was placed in full control of the Special Surplus which Frederick had kept in his sole charge, the old king using different men for various lines of expenditure but allowing no one of them to know the range of expenditures determined upon by the royal will. Wöllner in this position offered no resistance to the great increase made by Frederick William II. in the outlay for what would now be called the civil list, always a very moderate sum under the old king as it had been under his father, the first royal Frederick William.

Frederick William's weakness and love of leisure soon shrank from the daily struggle with things as they are and with the practical men who handle them ungloved. What was easier than the resort to a kitchen cabinet? It was not long before the reports of the most important administrative organ below the king, the General Directory, were presented through Wöllner. In this way Wöllner came easily to be the most influential personage in the internal affairs of the Prussian state. To attain this position and to rise even higher in official rank, he hesitated at no sort of subservience or

<sup>39</sup> Almost as important was the king's inclination toward Bischoffswerder, a former Saxon officer, who had initiated the king into the Rosicrucians. He was made adjutant-general and he and Wöllner worked together for their mutual advantage. Their position was strengthened by a more or less open alliance with the king's mistress, Madame Rietz (Countess Lichtenau), who was able to maintain her hold on the king until his death despite two successive morganatic marriages backed by court factions and consented to by the queen in the hope of breaking this connection.

solicitation on his own part, and, with Bischoffswerder as his co-adjutor, played upon the mysticism and superstition of the king. One hesitates to repeat as thoroughly credible the accounts of the private stage at the palace, the spiritualistic mummary performed there, the spirit of Caesar even being materialized for the benefit of this exalted Rosicrucian or more accurately for the benefit of Brothers Heliconus and Farferus, but when sober historians like Philippon and Heigel give space to such performances, they can hardly be passed over without mention.

Any attentive reader of the extracts given us by Preuss and Bailleu from the lectures on religion delivered by Wöllner to Frederick William can easily surmise what ministerial position would be his ultimate aim. Nor could one, on the basis of what has been said of his character, think that he would hesitate in offering himself as a candidate for a place in the ministry. Within two months after his pupil's accession to the throne he was asking for the office of Minister of Finance. But his most persistent efforts indicate that his real ambition was to obtain the office of Minister of Public Worship and Education. Here he had no hesitation in appealing to the bonds and brethren of the order of Rosicrucians. Writing to Bischoffswerder some time late in August or in September, 1786, Wöllner says:

If Ormesus Magnus [Frederick William II.] is planning that I should put the Department of Religion in order and help revive the cause of religion in this country, a matter which our order would very much appreciate, nothing should stand in his way in confiding the said department to me as Minister, and I should be right diligent throughout my six remaining years of life in humbling the *Aufklärer*. Indeed the chiefs of our order would likely not be at all angry if Ormesus Magnus should distinguish in profane affairs their chief director. What can hinder Ormesus as king from making happy one to whom he gives his confidence? He is already beginning to raise me to noble rank and to create me a privy councillor of finance.<sup>40</sup>

So extraordinary is the spectacle suggested by this letter of the successor of the great Frederick being besought in the name of a mystic secret society to put into the hands of its chief director the very office which could most definitely be used to combat the views and principles for which Frederick stood—so extraordinary I say is the spectacle, that one may easily overlook the fact that it took almost two years before Wöllner with all the personal hold he had on the king, with all the influence of Rosicrucianism behind him,

<sup>40</sup> Philippon, I. 206.

reached the goal of his ambitions. Some influence in this delay may be attributed to the fact that Madame Rietz (the later Countess Lichtenau) was with difficulty holding her own as the king's favorite against two successive morganatic wives, and Madame Rietz was the friend of the Rosicrucian group.<sup>41</sup> The king was busy with pressing matters of internal and foreign policy. More effective possibly was his shrinking from the decisive step, which involved not only a complete break with his predecessor's policy but the ousting of some of the ablest representatives of Frederick's point of view.

Staunchest and ablest of the Frederickian representatives was Zedlitz, who for twenty years had ruled the Department of Religion and Education for Lutheran affairs<sup>42</sup> and represented what was

<sup>41</sup> I do not attribute as much influence to Mme. Rietz in this matter as does Philippson. The latter is in error (I. 206) in putting the death of Countess Ingersheim in 1788. She died in 1789 and the argument from the supposed coincidence of her death and Wöllner's rise, weak in any case, fails completely. Cf. Grünhagen in *Zeit. für Gesch. u. Altertum Schlesiens*, XXVII. 11, foot-note 2.

<sup>42</sup> The Department for Education and Religion was administered by two ministers of justice under the supervision of the Privy Council of State (Geheimer Staatsrat). It was divided into two sections or bureaus, each with its minister, the Lutheran which had charge of religious and educational affairs in both Lutheran and Catholic churches, and the department for the Calvinistic or Reformed church and its schools. Under each, in each province there was a double set of consistories, one for the Lutheran and Catholic schools and churches and another for the Reformed faith. These consistories, with the exceptions of those in Silesia and Gelders, reported through the two Superior Consistories in Berlin. It does not seem that there was as much supervision or interference with Catholic affairs as with those of the Protestant churches. Cf. Fr. Nicolai, *Beschreibung der königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam* (2 vols., Berlin, 1786), I. 323-328. Also the accounts in Rethwisch, *Der Staatsminister Freiherr v. Zedlitz und Preussens höheres Schulwesen* (Strassburg, 1886), pp. 1-2, and Mühler, *Gesch. der evangelischen Kirchenverfassung in der Mark Brandenburg* (Weimar, 1846), pp. 232 ff. The official character of the clergy of Brandenburg-Prussia should not be forgotten. They were not simply pastors of their flocks and teachers of the Christian religion. They were even in this latter function teachers of state religion or state religions, of creeds and doctrines with a political sanction whose guarantee was national law and international agreements. They were obliged by oath to teach these creeds. Special ministerial departments close to the sovereign had been instituted for their supervision and direction in this phase of their activity. They were in the service of the state as teachers and supervisors of schools, hospitals, and universities. They gathered and reported statistics of marriage and birth and death—things any state and especially a military state must know. They helped in the efforts of other officials to prevent the spread of disease and pests among men, beasts, and the fruits of the field. Much, too much, of their time was consumed in the making of reports to the non-religious departments of state who regarded them as they would any other official and sought to extend their functions and put new duties upon them. They entered on the other hand through their varied functions even more vitally than the tax-gatherer or recruiting sergeant or schoolmaster into the very life of the king's subjects. Their services at the altar of religion were in a sense part of

best and most liberal in Frederick's ideas on those subjects. Behind him was the able and independent group of men composing the Religious Consistory. Well might Frederick William II, shrink from entering the lists supported by Wöllner and Rosicrucianism, even though he had as Prince of Prussia determined to signalize his reign by a struggle with the *Aufklärung* and its clerical representatives. But the two years were not wholly lost though Wöllner had to curb his crusading zeal. Single measures gave full intimation to Zedlitz of his downfall. Appropriations for his department were cut to inadequate sums. Then Silesia, which though independent in so many administrative matters was still under the central government in those of education, was cut off from Zedlitz's control with words that are significant of future purpose. On July 26, 1787, the king wrote the Silesian president, Seidlitz,<sup>43</sup> who had appealed to him in the matter:

I am wholly of your opinion that the fundamentals of Christianity must be impressed with special care upon the minds of the young, so that in their maturer years they may have a firm basis for their faith and may not be led into error and made to waver in their religion by the so-called *Aufklärer* that at present, alas, are so prevalent. To be sure, I dislike all oppression of conscience and would allow each his own convictions; but what I will never suffer, is that the religion of Jesus should be undermined, the Bible scorned, and the banner of disbelief, Deism, and naturalism openly flaunted in my domains.

A few months later Zedlitz was still further humiliated by the removal from his control of the Calvinistic gymnasia and schools.<sup>44</sup>

Through all these measures and utterances one is made aware of the steady advance of Wöllner. He had never ceased to work for himself and his ideas, by appeals direct and indirect to the king's interest in the cause of the religion of Jesus and his hope for the approval of the Rosicrucian order. In an extraordinary epistle written in April, 1788, direct to the king, he appeals to him to form

their service to the throne of the king. It was the pastors and priests who taught loyalty and rallied the masses in support of the monarchy. Their views and teachings could never be a matter of indifference to the head of the state. They were in their public activities and utterances the servants of a race of earthly kings who in the past had never hesitated to define to them their duties in things temporal and spiritual. To the papal church-state had succeeded in Protestant lands the state, which was a half-church without a pope. On the varying form of the oath taken by the clergy of Prussia in the eighteenth century, cf. Mühlner, *Gesch. d. Evangel. Kirchenverfassung in d. Mark Brandenburg*, pp. 226 ff.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Philippon, I. 199-200.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 202.

with Brothers Farferus (Bischoffswerder) and Ocarus (probably Beyer) a "triumvirate" and devote an evening formally to the consideration of measures for defending the kingdom from irreligion along the lines laid down in that velvet-bound manuscript book on religion that he (Wöllner) had written for the king when the latter was crown prince.

Your Majesty may certainly believe that such a conference held with the most upright purpose and in the spirit of the Order will not be without blessings, and the order will certainly consider it highly to the credit of its crowned O.[rmesus] M.[agnus] to have taken this step for the benefit of the good cause and in order to further the Religion of Jesus for so many thousand beings.<sup>45</sup>

The king did more than call a conference over the velvet-bound manuscript. He made its author Minister of Religion on July 3, 1788. On July 9, appeared the chief measure with which his name is associated, the Religious Edict.

GUY STANTON FORD.

<sup>45</sup> Philipppson, I. 208-209.



## THE INDIANS IN THE CIVIL WAR

No state in the Union was more prompt and vigorous in taking issue on the question of secession than were the larger and more civilized of those Indian tribes that had been removed, under Federal direction, from the east to the west of the Mississippi.

At the opening of the Civil War, these emigrants, victims of economic advancement and of the states'-rights doctrine, occupied extensive reservations immediately beyond Missouri and Arkansas and formed, collectively, a very considerable portion of the population of two superintendencies, the Central and the Southern. Within the Central Superintendency were practically all those that had come from the Free States, such tribes, for instance, to name them in the general order of their location, as the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri, who were in Nebraska, and in Kansas the Kickapoos, the Wyandots, the Munsees, or Christians, the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi, and a variety of small tribes that had come from the region of the old Northwest Territory.<sup>1</sup>

The southern line of the Central Superintendency ran north of the New York Indian Reservation. South of it was the Southern Superintendency, which consequently embraced southern Kansas as well as the whole of the old Indian Territory, or the present state of Oklahoma. The Indian emigrants within it were the New York Indian families, insignificant in number, the five great slaveholding tribes that had come from south of the Mason and Dixon line: *viz.*, the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Seminoles; also some remnants, as they were called, of Wichitas, Quapaws, Caddoes, Shawnees, and Senecas, together with certain Indian exiles from Texas. These last occupied the "Leased District", on the False Washita River, of the Choctaw and Chickasaw country.

On the very day, January 5, 1861, when the famous caucus of Southern senators adopted resolutions advising immediate seces-

<sup>1</sup> The confederated Weas, Peorias, Kaskaskias, and Piankeshaws, the Potawatomes, the Ottawas, the Miamies, and Chippewas. Within the Central and Southern superintendencies were a number of indigenous tribes also, the more prominent, as far as the scope of this paper is concerned, being the Kaws of north-central Kansas, the Osages of southern Kansas, and some of the Indians of the Plains.

sion,<sup>2</sup> the Chickasaw legislature showed itself fully cognizant of the fact that a crisis had arrived in American national affairs by suggesting an intertribal conference to secure co-operative activity of some sort on the part of the Five Civilized Tribes should a political separation occur between the North and the South.<sup>3</sup> Cyrus Harris, the governor of the Chickasaw Nation, duly communicated this plan to the authorities of the other tribes but it drew forth a very unfavorable comment from John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokees, who felt that the quarrel between the states was no concern of the Indians. Other leading Indians seem to have been of a contrary opinion and the Creek chiefs, being invited to decide upon a date for the conference, named the seventeenth of February.

Meanwhile, the Choctaw Nation, in General Council assembled, took an even more pronounced action and committed itself unequivocally to the pro-slavery cause. This was done on February 7 by a series of resolutions of such a tenor that no one can doubt that motives of self-preservation inspired their passage.<sup>4</sup> Texas and Arkansas were so close to the Choctaw country that the Choctaws could not venture to ally themselves with the North or even to remain neutral. Moreover, as slaveholders, they firmly believed that their "natural affections, education, institutions, and interests" bound them "indissolubly . . . in every way to the destiny" of their "neighbors and brethren of the Southern States".

The work accomplished by the convention of February 17 can best be described by quoting the report of the Cherokee delegates to it, men who had been appointed by John Ross that they might use their influence on the side of discretion and moderation.

The undersigned respectfully report to you that they attended the proposed Conference between the Creeks, Choctaws, Chicasaws, Seminoles, and Cherokees at the Creek Agency. Neither the Choctaws nor the Chickasaws were represented. The Creeks and Seminoles were. We were very kindly received by them and had a free and friendly interchange of opinions with them in regard to our present condition and duty in view of the pending difficulties in the United States. Our opinions were harmonious and the conclusion that we arrived at in view of our Treaty obligations, was simply to do nothing, to keep quiet and to comply with our Treaties. Mutual expressions of good feeling were given and whatever may be the exigencies of the future, if any should arise, we will be found acting in concert and having a common destiny. The course pursued was submitted to the Creek Council and was fully approved.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*, III. 180, note.

<sup>3</sup> Indian Office General Files, "Cherokee, 1859-1865", C. 515.

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, series I., I. 682.

<sup>5</sup> William P. Ross, Thomas Pegg, Lewis Downing, and John Spears to John Ross, dated Fort Gibson, March 15, 1861. General Files, "Cherokee, 1859-1865". C. 515.

While these events were in progress, the conduct of the Arkansas authorities, as viewed from the standpoint of loyalty to the Union, was most reprehensible. Months before the state passed its ordinance of secession, the governor, Henry M. Rector, and the man in charge of the Indian affairs of the Southern Superintendency, Elias Rector, both brought strong influences to bear upon John Ross to induce him to abandon his proposed policy of friendly inactivity; but all to no purpose.<sup>6</sup> John Ross was too shrewd a man to jeopardize the welfare of himself and his tribe by venturing prematurely upon a scheme so hazardous.

The very position of the Indian Territory, however, made a long continued neutrality absolutely impossible. At the outset of the war the country was in an almost defenseless condition. As early as March, 1858, Secretary Floyd had planned a general withdrawal of troops from the Indian frontier.<sup>7</sup> Although Thompson, the Secretary of the Interior, vigorously deprecated such action, it was in great measure persisted in. In May, 1860, several forts were completely abandoned and others weakened. Moreover, when hostilities finally broke out, the Union troops surrendered their position at the first approach of the Texans, leaving the bewildered tribes entirely at the mercy of the pro-Southern agents and Confederate emissaries.

Southern sympathizers among officials and ex-officials in the Indian Territory were very numerous. Foremost stood Douglas H. Cooper, the Choctaw and Chickasaw agent, an appointee of Buchanan. His untrustworthiness was notorious yet was well matched by that of men placed in office during the early days of Lincoln's administration. Some of these refused to give the Indians any assurance of the continued interest of the United States government in their concerns. Others, like John Crawford, Cherokee agent, William Quesenbury, Creek agent, Samuel M. Rutherford, Seminole agent, and Matthew Leeper, Wichita agent, trusted that the inaccessible character of the Indian country would prevent a report of their doings from reaching Washington and worked openly for secession. Most of them were citizens of Arkansas.

The South seems from the first to have appreciated the importance of the Indian Territory as a possible storehouse for provisions, as a highway to and from Texas, and in some slight degree, no doubt, as a base for securing Colorado Territory and the new

<sup>6</sup> General Files, "Cherokee, 1859-1865", C. 515; *Official Records*, series I., XIII. 490-492, and I. 683; Moore, *Rebellion Record*, II., doc. 114.

<sup>7</sup> Indian Office General Files, "Miscellaneous, 1858-1863".

state of Kansas. Rumor represented Colorado as thoroughly indignant at the short-sightedness of the federal government in withdrawing its troops from the frontier and thus leaving her exposed to the merciless ferocity of the wild Indians of the Plains; and Kansas as controlled by poor, worthless, starving Abolitionists who were still dependent upon charitable donations from the Eastern states and who might be easily overcome by the pro-slavery element could an effective Confederate force be brought from the southward.

In consideration of some of these things, the Confederate government, May 13, 1861, appointed the brave Texan ranger, Benjamin McCulloch, brigadier-general of its Provisional Army, and assigned him to the command of the Indian Territory. Three regiments of white troops were ordered to report to him and, if they could be raised, two Indian regiments. McCulloch took charge of his command with the expectation of making its headquarters at some point in the Cherokee country,<sup>8</sup> which lay immediately south of Kansas, but John Ross objected and, on May 17, issued a proclamation of strict neutrality.<sup>9</sup> McCulloch, thereupon, retired to Fort Smith in western Arkansas and proceeded to muster his forces. On the same day that he had received his appointment, the Confederate Secretary of War, Leroy P. Walker, had instructed Douglas H. Cooper "to raise among the Choctaws and Chickasaws a mounted regiment to be commanded by" himself "in co-operation with General McCulloch"; and had signified that it was designed to raise two other similar regiments among the Creeks, Cherokees, Seminoles, and other friendly tribes. The duty of raising these additional regiments was entrusted to David Hubbard, the Confederate Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

At a considerable time before this, the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States had laid down the lines of a definite Indian policy. It had created a Bureau of Indian Affairs and had attached it to the War Department. It had, moreover, taken some steps towards opening up negotiations with the great tribes, but it was not until May 21 that it formally enacted a law providing for the assumption of a protectorate over them.

At this point a most interesting figure appeared upon the scene in the person of Albert Pike, a New-Englander, who had emigrated to Arkansas and had settled at Little Rock. To-day, he is chiefly remembered for his prominence as a Mason and it was the Masonic Order that erected the statue to his memory in Washington; but, in his own day, he was known as a great friend of the Indians, his

<sup>8</sup> Snead, *The Fight for Missouri*, pp. 229-230.

<sup>9</sup> *Official Records*, series I., XIII. 489-490.

poetic sensibilities having been deeply stirred by a consciousness of the great injustice that had been done them ever since the first coming of the white man. As soon as war broke out between the states, he avowed himself an extreme secessionist and promptly volunteered his services to the Confederacy in effecting an Indian alliance. Admittedly he was the man best fitted, by reason of his known interest in the cause of Indian rights, to draw the great tribes of the Indian Territory away from their allegiance to the federal government. This the Confederacy recognized and forthwith regularly commissioned him to negotiate treaties of friendship and alliance,<sup>10</sup> without giving him, however, any definite instructions as to what the terms of the treaties should comprehend. Apparently the object was to gain the support of the Indians at all costs.

When Pike set out upon his mission in the latter part of May, 1861, he had great hopes of securing the Cherokees by taking advantage of a certain dissatisfaction that was slowly developing against the neutral policy of the Principal Chief. In this he failed. He then passed on to other tribes and met with considerable, and yet with no flattering, success. The Choctaws and the Chickasaws were the only Indians that, at this early time, went over to the South as nations and they, it will be remembered, had been the nations most ready for action in the beginning. Some of the tribes split into two factions, as for instance, the Comanches, the Seminoles, and the Creeks. Usually, when this was the case, the half-breeds constituted the disloyal faction and the full-blooded Indians the loyal. Sometimes only a single band, or perhaps two bands, in a tribe supported secession. Such, for example, was the case with the Tonkawas of the Wichita tribe and the Black Dogs of the Osage.

Of the more insignificant tribes of the Indian Territory, the remnants in the northeast, weak, unorganized, and influenced by their agent, Andrew J. Dorn, yielded to Pike without much persuasion. In individual cases they were most probably taken by surprise and intimidated. Among these detached bands, the Quapaws were the only ones that remained unqualifiedly loyal. The Caddoes from the interior country were loyal also, as, indeed, were most of the tribes north of the thirty-seventh parallel. Kansas seems to have been beyond the scope of Pike's operations; and its Indian inhabitants, when not indigenous, being emigrants from the Free States,

<sup>10</sup> President Davis had been authorized by resolution of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, March 14, 1861, to send a special agent to the Indian tribes west of Arkansas. See *Journal of the Confederate Congress*, I. 105.

were generally not familiar with or attached to the institution of slavery. They were in the Central Superintendency, of which it was reported that "with scarcely a single exception" the tribes "remained firm and true to the government", several of them furnishing a liberal quota of troops to its military forces. More than one-half of the adult male Delawares regularly enlisted as volunteers, and they were highly esteemed as soldiers by their officers.<sup>11</sup>

Meanwhile the Chickasaw legislature, with the sanction of the governor, Cyrus Harris, took definite action May 25, 1861, and declared outright for the Confederacy, at the same time urging all the neighboring nations to form a defensive and offensive alliance against "the Lincoln hordes and Kansas robbers". Their reasons were expressed in the following preamble to a series of resolutions:

Whereas the Government of the United States has been broken up by the secession of a large number of States composing the Federal Union that the dissolution has been followed by war between the parties; and whereas the destruction of the Union as it existed by the Federal Constitution is irreparable, and consequently the Government of the United States as it was when the Chickasaw and other Indian nations formed alliances and treaties with it no longer exists; and whereas the Lincoln Government, pretending to represent said Union, has shown by its course towards us, in withdrawing from our country the protection of the Federal troops, and withholding, unjustly and unlawfully, our money placed in the hands of the Government of the United States as trustee, to be applied for our benefit, a total disregard of treaty obligations towards us; and whereas our geographical position, our social and domestic institutions, our feelings and sympathies, all attach us to our Southern friends, against whom is about to be waged a war of subjugation or extermination, of conquest and confiscation—a war which, if we can judge from the political partisans of the Lincoln Government, will surpass the French Revolution in scenes of blood and that of San Domingo in atrocious horrors; and whereas it is impossible that the Chickasaws, deprived of their money and destitute of all means of separate self-protection, can maintain neutrality or escape the storm which is about to burst upon the South, but, on the contrary, would be suspected, oppressed, and plundered alternately by armed bands from the North, South, East and West; and whereas we have an abiding confidence that all our rights—tribal and individual—secured to us under treaties with the United States, will be fully recognized, guaranteed, and protected by our friends of the Confederate States; and whereas as a Southern people we consider their cause our own: Therefore

Be it resolved, etc.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1863, House Ex. Docs., 38 Cong., 1 sess., vol. III., p. 149.*

<sup>12</sup> *Official Records, series I., III. 585-587.*

In view of this stand and of that taken somewhat earlier by the Choctaws, it was not surprising that Colonel Cooper raised his Indian regiment with little difficulty. On June 14, George Hudson, Principal Chief of the Choctaws, issued a proclamation calling for seven hundred troops who were to serve as riflemen and for an additional force who were to serve as Home Guards. These latter were to be selected from men unfit for regular duty or exempted by reason of the age limit of forty-five years. Soon after the middle of July, McCulloch was able to report to Walker that the Choctaw and Chickasaw regiment was assembling at Scullyville in the extreme northeastern corner of the Choctaw country, about fifteen miles from Fort Smith, where he intended to keep it as a check upon the Cherokees. The latter were to be further checked by Arkansas on the east and McCulloch on the northeast, that is, on the Missouri line.

Although the Federal troops had been obliged to vacate the Indian Territory at an early day, Lieutenant-Colonel William H. Emory having been ordered April 17, 1861, to withdraw them all to Fort Leavenworth,<sup>13</sup> the United States government was soon urgently called upon to regain the lost position and to rally the loyal Indians. Senator Lane was the organizer of this movement. Meanwhile, Albert Pike was insisting upon a more aggressive attitude on the part of the South; for he rightly prophesied that "the enemy's government" would not permit the Indian country to belong to the Confederate States without a severe struggle. Writing on the eleventh of May, he said:

I foresaw some time ago that the regular troops would be withdrawn, as too much needed elsewhere to be left there inactive, and that they would be replaced by volunteers, under men actuated by personal hatred of the South. I do not think that more than five or six thousand men will be sent there for a time but those, I am satisfied, will be there soon. To occupy the country with safety we ought to have at least an equal force, if we first occupy it, and shall need a much larger one if they establish themselves in it during an inaction. It will hardly be safe to count upon putting in the field more than 3,500 Indians; maybe we may get 5,000. To procure any, or at least any respectable number, we must guarantee them their lands, annuities, and other rights under treaties, furnish them arms, (rifles and revolvers, if the latter can be had), advance them some \$25. a head in cash, and send a respectable force there, as evidence that they will be efficiently seconded by us.<sup>14</sup>

The result of all this was, that Pike, after completing the work of negotiating Indian treaties, which took him the months of June

<sup>13</sup> *Official Records*, series I., I. 667.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 572-574.



and July, was made "commander of all the Indian troops in the Confederate service".<sup>15</sup>

Sympathy for the Confederate cause was meanwhile steadily growing among the Cherokees. On August 21 the nation, through its General Council, declared for secession. Agent Crawford took a prominent part in the meeting and, as was reported later by Special Agent E. H. Carruth, painted secession and the Confederate cause in the most glowing of colors. John Ross justified, upon grounds of good faith and expediency, his own previous policy of neutrality but declared that the time had now come for the Cherokees to take sides and that, as they were a slaveholding people, the more natural alliance would be with the South. Undoubtedly, the discretion exercised by General McCulloch and the respect he had shown for the Cherokee neutrality had great weight with Ross. McCulloch, it may be remarked, was not wholly in sympathy with the policy of enrolling Indians in the ranks and was firmly of the opinion that, even if enrolled, they should be kept within their own country. He feared that, were they allowed to become an invading army, they would run riot and bring the whole Confederate service into disgrace. The Indians themselves were averse to anything but home-guard duty and, in all their treaties with Pike, solemnly stipulated that under no circumstances should the Indian soldiers be taken beyond the limits of the Indian Territory.

On October 7, 1861, the Cherokee alliance was consummated by a treaty,<sup>16</sup> the last in the Confederate series and the most important. Its third article read thus:

The Confederate States of America having accepted the said protectorate, hereby solemnly promise the said Cherokee Nation never to desert or abandon it, and that under no circumstances will they permit the Northern States, or any other enemy, to overcome them and sever the Cherokees from the Confederacy; but that they will, at any cost and all hazards, protect and defend them, and maintain unbroken the ties created by identity of interests and institutions, and strengthened and made perpetual by this treaty.

In general, the Confederacy found its strongest support among the half-breeds, who were naturally the more intelligent body in an Indian community and also, to its shame be it said, the more unprincipled. Very early in the summer of 1861, secret societies were formed devoted to the opposing interests. The half-breeds, or

<sup>15</sup> Presumably this statement should be held to mean that Pike was given command of the Indian Territory forces only. The Choctaws of Mississippi and the North Carolina Cherokees were certainly not under him.

<sup>16</sup> *Confederate Statutes at Large*, pp. 394-411.

secessionists, joined the "Knights of the Golden Circle"; the full-bloods, not to be outdone in effective mustering of forces, organized the society of the "Pins",<sup>17</sup> the significance of the name being found in the circumstance that the meetings were held among the hills, where the members tried to hide their real object by connecting serious business with bowling.

The Pins were most numerous among the Creeks, of whom, perhaps, two-thirds remained loyal to the United States government. At the head of this loyal faction was an old chief, Opothleyohola by name, who, not content with making empty protestations of loyalty, prepared, by force of arms, to maintain the integrity of the Indian Territory. Cooper, with his Choctaws and Chickasaws, was sent against him. The old chief managed to hold his own for a time, but finally Cooper's force, being reinforced by some Texas cavalry, a Creek regiment under Colonel D. N. McIntosh, and a Creek and Seminole battalion, to the number of fourteen hundred men, was able to push him beyond the Kansas line.

It was then the middle of winter and the weather bitterly cold. Women and children followed in the wake of the soldiers and all went as refugees northward. Throughout the winter of 1861-1862 the main body lingered in southern Kansas and suffered unspeakably. Their numbers were estimated at some six thousand, but accounts vary. Certain it is that the support of Indian refugees in Kansas became during the early years of the war a most burdensome tax upon the federal government. The situation of these unfortunates was always serious and their very hardships and necessities afforded to agents and politicians a rare opportunity for peculation.

Early in 1862, the Confederacy resolved upon making one grand attack upon the Union stronghold in Missouri; and Major-General Earl Van Dorn took command of both the volunteer troops under Sterling Price and the regulars, including Pike's Indians, under McCulloch. The outcome was the battle of Pea Ridge, or Elk Horn Tavern, as it seems to have been more commonly called at the time, April 6-8. There is a tradition that in this battle Indians fought on both sides and after their old-time custom—war-paint, feathers, arrows, and tomahawks. The tomahawks were certainly in evidence and did some gruesome work among the dead and wounded.

<sup>17</sup> In 1862, Colonel Weer reported the existence of a secret society of Union Cherokee Indians called "Ke-too-wah" with one Solman at its head and numbering two thousand warriors. *Official Records*, series I., XIII. 431.

The Confederate failure has been largely attributed to the lack of co-operation among the commanding generals; and it would seem from the documents that General Pike with the main body of the Indians rendered only a very second-rate service. In partial repudiation of this charge, however, Pike declared that Van Dorn had treated him and his Indians with great contempt and had given them no opportunity to do their best. A Cherokee contingent under Stand Watie and another under John Drew were most efficient, and the former from that time on figured prominently and energetically in the Confederate cause. After the battle, which had resulted in the death of the brave and bold McCulloch, the Confederate troops evacuated Missouri but persistently indulged the hope of regaining it. The volunteers, for the most part, went eastward, while the regulars stationed themselves in western Arkansas and the Cherokee country.

By this time Senator J. H. Lane's plans were fully matured. He had gone to Washington and had there so ably represented the cause of Kansas and of the Indian refugees that he was given such authority to better it as was outlined in the following letter from Adjutant-General Thomas to General Hunter, January 24, 1862:

By direction of the General-in-Chief I have respectfully to inform you that Brig. Gen. J. H. Lane, U. S. Volunteers, has urged upon the President and Secretary of War an expedition to be conducted by him from Fort Leavenworth against the regions west of Missouri and Kansas [Arkansas]. The outlines of this plan were stated by him to be in accordance with your own views. The following force with supplies therefore, has been ordered to Kansas to operate under General Lane: Seven regiments cavalry, three batteries artillery, four regiments infantry, and he has been authorized also to raise about 8,000 to 10,000 Kansas troops and to organize 4,000 Indians.<sup>18</sup>

A controversy at once arose between Generals Hunter and Lane with respect to the superior position of the former. Evidently Lane had used Hunter's name as a means of securing support with the administration yet intended to act in defiance of explicit directions and form an independent command. His expedition fell into great disrepute and was often referred to in disparaging terms, such as "the Jayhawking Expedition" and "the Indian Expedition". Concerning it, Lincoln wrote on the thirty-first of January:

It is my wish that the expedition commonly called the "Lane Expedition" shall be as much as has been promised at the Adjutant-General's office under the supervision of General McClellan *and not any more*. I have not intended and do not now intend that it shall

<sup>18</sup> *Official Records*, series I., VIII. 525.

be a *great, exhausting affair*, but a snug, sober column of 10,000 or 15,000. General Lane has been told by me many times that he is under the command of General Hunter, and assented to it as often as told. It was the distinct agreement between him and me when I appointed him that he was to be under Hunter.<sup>19</sup>

The Indians themselves wanted Lane to superintend the expedition. When a rumor came that he was to be displaced, Opothleyohola personally interceded for him and assured Lincoln that the Indians could have confidence in no one else. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William P. Dole, accompanied Lane westward and assisted him in gathering together his Indian troops.

The ostensible object of this Lane expedition was "to open the way for the friendly Indians who were then refugees in Kansas to return to their homes and to protect them there". These refugees had come to number many thousands and included about six hundred and seventy-two Seminoles in camp near Neosho, about three hundred Chickasaws and Choctaws at the Sac and Fox reservation near Council Grove and over three thousand Creeks at the same place, besides a miscellaneous horde of Creeks, Cherokees, Shawnees, Senecas, and Quapaws along the southern border of the state. All these, as has been already intimated, entailed great expense upon the federal government and yet were in a deplorable condition all the time, there being no effective way by which their sufferings and privations could be permanently relieved.

After the battle of Pea Ridge, General Pike's Indians lingered for some time in Arkansas; but, when General T. C. Hindman assumed command of the troops that had formerly served under McCulloch, they were gradually drawn back into the Cherokee country. Then began what was eventually to be a serious trouble between Hindman and Pike, resulting in the resignation of the latter. The main point at issue was the employment of the Indians outside of the limits of the Indian Territory, Pike rightly contending that their treaties protected them against such service. The situation in Arkansas was, however, becoming serious and General Curtis, the victor at Pea Ridge, was steadily advancing southward. After much time wasted in useless argument, Hindman yielded to the obstinacy of Pike and met the emergency of the moment by directing "the enrollment and organization into companies and regiments of all men in Arkansas subject to conscription",<sup>20</sup> also by accepting such of the old Missouri State Guard as were available and desirous of

<sup>19</sup> *Official Records*, series I., VIII. 538.

<sup>20</sup> Hindman's report. *Ibid.*, XIII. 31.

continued service in the Confederate cause. By these means the danger was in a sense averted but the relations between Pike and Hindman became daily more and more strained.

In the latter part of June, 1862, alarming intelligence reached Hindman that Lane's expedition was moving from Fort Scott and that its advance guard had crossed the Cherokee line. To meet this force, five thousand strong, Hindman had only Stand Watie's regiment of Cherokee half-breeds, Drew's regiment of full-bloods, and a battalion of Missourians. This small band encountered the Kansas force at a place called Locust Grove, about thirty miles north of Tahlequah, and was defeated. More than that, virtually Colonel Drew's whole regiment deserted to the enemy. At about the same time the Pin Indians among the Cherokees rose in rebellion, committed some horrid excesses, and compelled Ross again to declare neutrality. It was reported that he was strung up several times before he would consent. This exhibition of obstinacy came to be regarded as a mere feint on his part, however, for he shortly afterwards went over entirely to the Federal lines and carried with him the Cherokee money and valuable papers.<sup>21</sup>

In the emergency just detailed, Hindman had again summoned Pike to his assistance, ordering him to move to or near Fort Gibson. Pike at first ignored the order and, when he did start to obey it, moved with such slowness, that Hindman in great irritation repeated it. Pike, irritated in his turn, resigned. His subsequent conduct indicated the source of dissatisfaction. On July 31 he issued a declaration to the Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, in which he represented that their cause had been betrayed by the Confederacy, that they themselves had, in violation of their treaties, been taken out of their country and forced to serve beyond its boundaries yet without their due measure of credit, that they had been despised and criticized by the white troops, that they had been kept in Arkansas while their own country was being exposed to a merciless horde of jayhawkers, and that they were summoned or rather allowed to go to its defense only when the enemy's force had reached such proportions that their own unaided strength was inadequate to withstand it, yet no appreciable number of white troops had been sent to their assistance.<sup>22</sup> There was a measure of truth in all this, but publicity was the worst thing possible since it produced utter demoralization among the Indians and exposed the Confederate weakness to the Federal army. Realizing this, Colonel

<sup>21</sup> Hindman's report. *Official Records*, series I., XIII. 40.

<sup>22</sup> Declaration of July 31, 1862. *Ibid.*, XIII. 869-871.

Cooper, next in command, felt it incumbent upon him to put Pike under arrest. Henceforth Cooper, a man far more self-seeking than Albert Pike, figured as the leader of the rebel Indians.

The jayhawkers referred to in the foregoing paragraph were, of course, in large part, the members of Lane's expedition, which had come to include three Indian regiments, severally commanded by Furnas, Corwin, and Phillips. It might eventually have comprised five regiments had not the arrangements, begun late in this very year of 1862, proved abortive.<sup>23</sup> The advance guard of the expedition was led by Colonel William Weer, who had been ordered by General James G. Blunt, the general commanding, to concentrate his forces in the Cherokee country. Trouble soon arose between Weer and one of his subordinates, a certain Colonel Frederick Salomon, who was in immediate command of the white troops of the expedition. Apparently the white troops were disgusted at the mere thought of being associated with Indians, were out of all sympathy with the objects of the expedition, and in no mood to submit to the necessary hardships. Finally they mutinied, giving as specific reasons for their conduct, the personal character of Weer, his inactivity, and his foolhardiness in cutting off communication with his base of supplies. Salomon placed Weer under arrest<sup>24</sup> and with the white troops made a retrograde movement.

Meanwhile Colonel Furnas took charge of the Indian regiments and moved on to the Verdigris River. There the First Indian Regiment became uncontrollable and a large part of the Second deserted. Order was restored as soon as Prior Creek was reached, where good water and passably good forage were found. Colonel Furnas's duty was to hold the line of the Arkansas River; and, in August, Salomon was ordered to reinforce him. Throughout the remainder of the summer and the early autumn, various engagements occurred between Cooper's Confederate forces intrenched in the Creek country and Blunt's Federal forces, operating from the Arkansas River as a base. The latter were uniformly successful. As a consequence, the Indians became much discouraged and soon found cause for great dissatisfaction with Cooper. By November, 1862, they were reported as having deserted in large numbers. The independent command of Stand Watie met with more favorable conditions and joined itself to Quantrill's guerrillas. At about the same time dissatisfaction grew rife among the loyal Osages, they complaining, and with good cause, that they were ill supplied with arms and had received no pay.

<sup>23</sup> *Senate Reports*, no. 359, 41 Cong., 3 sess.

<sup>24</sup> *Official Records*, series I., XIII. 484.

In the late autumn of 1862, General Hindman projected a plan whereby the decision rendered by the battle of Pea Ridge might possibly be reversed and the Confederacy might again get possession of Missouri. The result was the battle of Prairie Grove, near Fayetteville, Arkansas, which took place December 4, 1862. At its close Hindman retreated into the fastnesses of the mountains and Missouri was for the second time saved to the Union. The failure of the South had a disastrous effect upon the Indian alliance. Colonel William A. Phillips of the Lane Expedition, or Indian Home Guard, was detailed to pursue Cooper and Stand Watie across the Arkansas River and, in doing so, he thoroughly routed them. After this the rebel Creeks under McIntosh prepared to lay down their arms and to return to their allegiance. The Choctaws were of much the same mind.

Furthermore, the resources of the Indian country having been depleted, it was found advisable by the Confederate authorities to resort to a general system of furloughs as touching those Indians that continued loyal to the Confederate fortunes. The Indians objected to this strenuously; for they realized that they had forfeited their annuities from the federal government and had lost their personal possessions. They were afraid to go home, and refused to leave the army. Under these circumstances General Steele, who took command at Fort Smith early in 1863, ordered Cooper southward. Stand Watie's contingent remained as part of the regular force which Steele was planning to use for the dislodgment of Lane's army from northwestern Arkansas and the Indian country. The defeat was but one more item to be added to the long list of Confederate failures in the West.

The federal government perceived the turn of affairs and seized the opportunity to come to an understanding with repentant Indians. Soon after the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect, Commissioner Dole, who was still in Kansas, negotiated a treaty with the Creeks which embodied its principles.<sup>25</sup> The action proved premature and the treaty was never sanctioned by the tribe at large. Moreover, it aroused Cooper and his Indian forces to new efforts, and they were ordered northward against Blunt. Between the middle of June and the latter part of August, occurred several engagements, such as those of Greenleaf Prairie, Elk Creek, Perryville, and Devil's Backbone, in all of which the Federals were victorious, so that Schofield, the general in command, could report in September that "All Arkansas and the Indian Country west of it are

<sup>25</sup> Indian Office Land Files, "Unratified Treaties".



virtually in our possession.”<sup>26</sup> This was not precisely true, for Quantrill and Stand Watie were yet able to do some most effective guerrilla work, but the organized opposition of the South in that region had been completely broken and events rapidly terminated in the making of overtures of peace by the Indians.

As early as February, 1863, the Cherokees, in a special session of their National Council at Cowskin Prairie and in the absence of John Ross, who had gone east to consult with the Washington authorities, formally abrogated the treaty that they had made with the Confederacy. “They also passed an act depriving of office in the nation, and disqualifying all who continued disloyal to the Government of the United States; and also an act abolishing slavery.”<sup>27</sup>

The action of the Cherokees was not immediately imitated by other tribes; but the ill success of the Confederates previously noted led speedily in that direction. In March, 1864, the Choctaws held a convention at New Hope and prepared to profit by President Lincoln’s recent amnesty proclamation. They appointed a provisional governor, Thomas Edwards, and sent E. P. Perkins as a delegate to Washington. As soon as news of this reached Colonel Phillips at Fort Gibson, he forwarded a protest<sup>28</sup> declaring that the Choctaw Nation was still *de facto* rebel and begging that no terms be made with it until the Federal position were secure. He said, furthermore, that the federal government had now a good opportunity to reduce the great Indian domains to mere reserves and to open the surplus land to settlement. It was an opportunity, he argued, that the nation could not afford to lose.<sup>29</sup>

Perkins, in the meantime, went on to Washington and there endeavored<sup>30</sup> to shift all blame for the Choctaw defection upon the

<sup>26</sup> *Official Records*, series I., vol. XXII., part I., p. 470.

<sup>27</sup> John Ross to Dole, dated Philadelphia, April 2, 1863. Indian Office General Files, “Cherokee, 1859–1865”; Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VI. 50.

<sup>28</sup> Indian Office Land Files, “Choctaw, 1846–1873”, box 38.

<sup>29</sup> Indian Office General Files, “Choctaw, 1859–1866”, P. 154.

<sup>30</sup> “I have the honor to present the following facts for the consideration of your Department. At the outbreak of this rebellion the Nation which I have the honor to represent misled by the council of Douglas H. Cooper then the Agent of the Nation and overawed by the Rebel troops surrounding us were swept into the vortex of the present rebellion. The same causes which forced the U. S. Government to withdraw its protection from our border forced us to take the position, which for the past three years we have occupied. Early in the present year a conference of the leading men of our Nation was called at Dookville, but from the proximity of the Rebel forces were unable to take any steps which might reassure the Government of our loyal intentions. Convinced that no convention of Union Citizens could be held in the Southern Dist. a number of us

shoulders of Cooper, where undoubtedly a very large share of it deserved to rest. The government had good evidence of this but wisely refused to take any action whatever until it could certainly be said that the Indians had returned to their allegiance. There was, however, practically no more fighting, in which the Indians in any organized way participated; and in September, 1865, representatives of the several nations met commissioners of the United States at Fort Smith and there concluded a provisional treaty of peace and amity.

The effect of the war upon the great tribes had been most disastrous. It was the opinion of Secretary Usher, a few years later, that nowhere could it possibly have been more desolating and demoralizing. The Indians lost ground financially, socially, and morally that it had taken them half a century to gain; and, for years and years, it was a sad picture of charred dwellings, broken fences, unstocked homesteads, and woe-begone people that presented itself to the white squatters who thronged into the Indian Territory during the Reconstruction Period. Many of these invaders were under the impression that the Indians had forfeited all their rights under treaties by their advocacy of secession, and they were themselves resolved to lose no time in profiting by the circumstance. The government, indeed, proved a little less exacting than its citizens had anticipated, yet it subjected the Indian Territory to reconstruction measures, different from but no less severe than those with which it afflicted the South. Thus, whether or not the Indians were to blame for their participation in a quarrel which in a sense did not concern them, they paid very dearly for their interference.

ANNIE HELOISE ABEL.

summoned a convention at Skullyville twenty miles from Fort Smith. The result of that convention I have the honor to submit herewith.

"I am fully convinced that our Nation are anxious to prove to the Government their loyalty by such a course of conduct as shall meet with your entire approbation.

"We desire to reestablish the form of Government formerly existing among us, which in its character is strictly representative.

"Trusting that Gov't as formed will be recognized by the United States and that the Nation may again be restored to its former happy relations with your Government, I have the honor to remain", etc.

Perkins to Dole, April, 1864. Indian Office General Files, "Choctaw, 1859-1866", P. 166.

## DOCUMENTS

### *Papers relating to Bourbon County, Georgia, 1785-1786, II.*

THE documents pertaining to Bourbon County which were printed in the last number of this journal presented the principal phases of the affair to the coming of Francisco Bouligny to take command of the post of Natchez as the successor of Felipe Treviño. Thomas Green, without waiting for any of his colleagues, had plunged precipitately into the negotiations and had only troubled the waters. William Davenport, coming after him, apparently had tried in his awkward way to calm them but had stilled them not at all and had even stirred up some agitations of his own. On the arrival of Bouligny the negotiations were taken up anew but came to a pause after a few days awaiting the coming of the other commissioners, Nicholas Long and Nathaniel Christmas. No better evidence could be offered that the scheme was less than half-baked, even raw, than the fact that the agents of Georgia (who had probably had themselves appointed) failed in so large a measure to act concertedly. Davenport had criticized Green for endeavoring to accomplish the coup by his own unaided might,<sup>1</sup> yet he himself does not seem to have remembered his associates until he found himself face to face with failure.

When Long and Christmas arrived in Natchez, about the end of August, negotiations were once more resumed and resulted in Bouligny's sending to Miró the credentials of the commissioners, together with their correspondence setting forth the object of their mission. Miró's reply (September 7) reached the commissioners about five weeks later. While maintaining firmly Spain's right to the territory about Natchez and protesting against the action of the state of Georgia in assuming to erect a county in the king's dominions, this reply was nevertheless rather cautiously worded and moderate in its demands. Miró was waiting to hear from the Conde de Galvez. Early in November he received from the viceroy a vigorous letter (September 22), which moved him to send at once (November 10) to the agents of Georgia a peremptory order to quit Natchez, giving them fifteen days in which to pack their

<sup>1</sup> See his letter to Governor Elbert, July 17, printed in the October number of this journal, p. 105, *supra*.

baggage and one month additional in which to be entirely outside of the territory. Whether they needed or used so much time does not appear.

Meanwhile, the ship *Galvestown*, bearing despatches<sup>2</sup> from the viceroy of Mexico to Gardoqui, the *encargado de negocios* of Spain to the United States, reached New York late in September.<sup>3</sup> On September 23 Gardoqui addressed a note to Jay on the Bourbon County affair, and on September 26 Jay brought the matter to the attention of Congress. On October 13 Congress passed resolutions strongly disapproving the course which the state of Georgia had pursued, and these resolutions were transmitted to Gardoqui by Jay on October 14.<sup>4</sup> On October 17 Gardoqui wrote to Floridablanca<sup>5</sup> mentioning the action of Congress and on the 21st transmitted the correspondence. Similar letters were written to the Conde de Galvez and to Governor Zéspedes<sup>6</sup> at St. Augustine. On November 21 Gardoqui again wrote to Floridablanca and mentioned further evidences of the attitude of Congress.<sup>7</sup>

The correspondence between the Spanish officials with reference to the affair at Natchez continued until late in the spring of 1786, but the later letters of the correspondence are chiefly acknowledg-

<sup>2</sup> See the letter of the Conde de Galvez to Gardoqui, July 24, 1785, printed in the October number of this journal, p. 100, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> Gardoqui to Floridablanca, September 24 (Archivo General Central, Ministro de Estado, legajo 3886; transcript in the library of Hon. Reuben T. Durrett, Louisville, Gardoqui Papers, VI. 82).

<sup>4</sup> *Dip. Corr. of U. S. A., 1783-1789*, III. 181-184; *Secret Journals for Foreign Affairs*, III. 591-593.

<sup>5</sup> A memorandum respecting the Georgia claim, prepared from the letters of Miró, had already (September 30) been transmitted to Floridablanca by the minister of the Indies, Josef de Galvez (Archivo General Central, Ministro de Estado, leg. 3886; transcript in the library of Hon. Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, Gardoqui Papers, VI. 39-43).

<sup>6</sup> Zéspedes on receipt of Gardoqui's letter of October 17 wrote to Josef de Galvez (January 3, 1786): "La buena fee del Congreso será indubitable; pero consivo que no tiene las necesarias facultades para obligar á ningun Estado á la execucion de sus resoluciones, y es constante que la unanimidad de todos sus Miembros no puede sin la concurrencia de la administracion legislativa del Estado de Georgia revocar, mudar, ni aun debilitar el acto de Asamblea que pasó aquel Estado en 7 de Febrero del año proximo expirado . . . erigiendo un Condado nuevo sobre el Río Misisipi, comprehensivo del territorio de Natchez." The original of this letter is in Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional; a draft is in the Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XLII., C 4, as is also a draft of practically the same letter to the Conde de Galvez.

<sup>7</sup> The letters of Gardoqui to Floridablanca are in Alcalá, Arch. Gen. Cen., Min. de Estado, leg. 3886; transcripts in the library of Colonel Durrett, Gardoqui Papers, VI. 83, 85, 93 (copy of letter, October 21, to the Conde de Galvez), 112, 128. A copy of the letter of October 17 to Zéspedes is in Arch. Gen. Cen., Min. de Estado, leg. 3891, transcript in Gardoqui Papers, III. 336.

ments of communications with brief comments.<sup>8</sup> With the departure of the commissioners from Natchez on receipt of Miró's letter of November 10 the Bourbon County case was essentially closed. At all events the state of Georgia appears to have let the matter rest, pending the adjustment of the boundary question by the governments of Spain and the United States, an adjustment which dragged along until the treaty of 1795. Meanwhile, in the act of 1788 by which the state of Georgia ceded her western territory to the United States, the Bourbon County Act was repealed.<sup>9</sup> That the agitation in or concerning Natchez did not, however, cease altogether with this failure of Green and Davenport and their co-laborers is evidenced by the two letters of Davenport and that of Green which are last printed in this series. Other plots<sup>10</sup> there were for wrenching the district of Natchez from the Spaniard, but for the most part the Bourbon County ferment becomes merged in the larger, more far-reaching agitation for the free navigation of the Mississippi.

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

XXXI. FRANCISCO BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, JULY 24, 1785.<sup>11</sup>

*Muy Señor mio:*

Despues de mi llegada ayer á este fuerte he conferenciado con el Teniente Coronel Graduado y anterior Comandante de este Fuerte y Distrito Don Felipe Treviño sobre varios asuntos particularmente sobre M<sup>r</sup>. Duvempont comisionado por los Estados de Georgia para fijar los limites de separacion con nosotros en cuya calidad se ha presentado

<sup>8</sup> Such letters are the following: Floridablanca to Josef de Galvez, December 21, 1785 (Arch. Gen. Cen., Min de Estado, leg. 3891; transcript in the library of Colonel Durrett, Gardoqui Papers, III.); Miró to the Conde de Galvez, December 25 (*ibid.*); Gardoqui to Miró, December 25 (*ibid.*); Josef de Galvez to the Conde de Galvez, December 29 (Mexico, Arch. Gen. y Púb., Reales Cédulas y Órdenes, 1785, tomo 132); the Conde de Galvez to Josef de Galvez, January 2, 1786 (Arch. Gen. Cen., Min. de Estado, leg. 3891; transcript in Durrett library, Gardoqui Papers, III.); Zespedes to Josef de Galvez, and to the Conde de Galvez, January 3, 1786 (Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XLII., C 4, and Madrid, Arch. Hist. Nac.); the Conde de Galvez to Miró, January 26 (Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba); the Conde de Galvez to Zespedes, March 18 (Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XXXIX., M 3); Josef de Galvez to Zespedes, April 15 (*ibid.*); O'Neill to Gardoqui, April 19 (Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba); the Conde de Galvez to Josef de Galvez, April 26 (Mexico, Arch. Gen. y Púb., Real. Céd. y Órd., 1785, tomo 132).

<sup>9</sup> Manuscript volume, Acts of the General Assembly of Georgia, 1786-1789; printed in Watkins, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, pp. 370-371.

<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, *Dip. Corr. of U. S. A., 1783-1789*, III. 233-251; cf. foot-note 209, *post*.

<sup>11</sup> Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. Of the letters of Bouligny to Miró this is number 1.

aquí sin otros antecedentes ni Documentos que unos papeles por los quales parece esta autorizado por dichos Estados á hacer esta operacion de acuerdo con los otros tres sujetos de que esta V.S. noticioso.

Ygualmente me ha informado que la conducta de este sujeto desde su llegada aquí es muy sospechosa que ademas de lo que tiene dado á V.S. parte con fecha de 11 del corriente<sup>12</sup> continua siempre en comportarse de un modo irregular y nada decoroso al caracter con que pretende estar revestido entregandose con bastante frecuencia á la bevida y susitando conversaciones sediciosas que procura paliar declarandola el mismo al Ayudante de este fuerte sin duda para que por su conducto lleguen al conocimiento del que aquí mande y no le causen despues armonia quando llegue á saberla por otro conducto, Juicio que el mismo Don Felipe Treviño ha hecho y que me parece muy fundado.

Tambien me ha participado que desde las ultimas cartas que ha escrito á V.S. sobre este particular el citado Duvempport ha hecho conversacion en publico delante del Ayudante de este fuerte Don Estevan Minor diciendo de un modo resuelto que este distrito pertenecia sin la menor duda á los Estados Unidos de America y que de un modo ó otro lo poseerian en breve, de cuyas conversaciones in[s]truido el citado Don Felipe Treviño encargó al sobre dicho Ayudante procurase ligar amistad con Duvempport para hacerlo hablar como en efecto lo ha hecho dandole á comer y sobre mesa supo de el que no venian tropas por ahora pero que estaban prontas á venir á la primera demanda noticia que no se puede dudar (sea ó no cierta) habra comunicado igualmente á otros muchos habitantes.

He sabido igualmente del mismo que dos dias antes de mi arribo llegaron á este puesto por tierra los nombrados el Capitan Call<sup>13</sup> y el Doctor West<sup>14</sup> conducidos por unos de los tratantes que estan en la nacion Chicachas llamado Tomas Love (sujeto de buen concepto) quienes luego que llegaron aquí se presentaron al sobre dicho Duvempport y por medio de este supo Don Felipe Treviño que los citados Call y West venian aquí embiados desde los Cactas por los otros dos compañeros de Duvempport que venian por tierra llamados el mayor Long y el nombrado Crismes y se havian detenido en los Chactas para saber en que estado estava este Distrito y tener noticias de Duvempport y de si lo havian ó no arrestado aquí con cuyas noticias devian ellos animarse á venir ó detenerse ally con orden de despacharles inmediatamente el sobre dicho Tomas Love para llevarles esta noticia como en efecto se verificó saliendo el citado Love al día subseguente con el conocimiento de Don Felipe Treviño y su pasaporte.

Estos dos sujetos Call, y West no se han presentado aun haviendo ofrecido Duvempport que los presentaria al día siguiente se hallan alojados á saber Call en casa de Juan Bournet<sup>15</sup> y West en casa de Guillermo Henderzon<sup>15</sup> desde la llegada de estos dos sujetos se ha esparcido en el distrito que los citados Long y Crismes tienen consigo

<sup>12</sup> This letter of Treviño to Miró appears in the first installment of this material, printed in the October number of this journal, p. 101, *supra*.

<sup>13</sup> Richard Call, surveyor-general of Georgia.

<sup>14</sup> Not Cato West. The latter was a resident of Natchez at the time of the Bourbon County Act but took no part in these negotiations.

<sup>15</sup> John Burnet and William Henderson both lived in the Bayou Santa Catalina (St. Catherine's Creek) section of the Natchez district. Burnet was afterwards a member of the first territorial legislature.

por valor de tres mil pesos de Mercaderias finas de trato para regalar á los Chicachas y atraerlos al partido Americano. Estas noticias se hallan confirmadas por lo que ha referido á Don Felipe Treviño Carlos Royeux alias La Font de nacion Frances que hace seis dias que llevo de la nacion Chicacha quien ha referido: Que á su llegada á la dicha Nacion hace como tres meses encontró la noticia que los Americanos devian venir á tomar posesion de este puesto (lo que de ningun modo creian los salvages) pero los infinitos vagos Americanos y Europeos que se hallan en aquella Nacion se lo aseguraron positivamente: Que pasado algun tiempo de su permanencia en dicha Nacion y habra como un mes vio llegar ocho Americanos dos de ellos que parecian gente distinguida y que traian consigo varios efectos: Que oyo decir alli que estos Americanos solicitaron á los Chicachas para tomar partido por ellos en la expedicion que debian hacer para posesionarse de este Distrito pero que los Chicachas les havian respondido que no tomarian partido ninguno y que estavan en animo de mantenerse neutros y finalmente ha dicho que seis dias antes de partir de dicha Nacion llegó un Chicacha que venia de la Ribera Cheraquis<sup>16</sup> dando la noticia que havia ally mas de tres cientos hombres empleados á trabajar á toda fuerza en la fabrica de Chalanes Batoes y Barcos de todas especies con el objeto de conducir mil hombres de tropas Artilleria y municiones de Guerra. De resultados de todas estas noticias y para verificarlas en parte despachó Don Felipe Treviño un sujeto de toda su confianza llamado Estevan Hayward<sup>17</sup> Realista y habitante de este distrito para que fuese á enterarse de lo que pasava en dicha Ribera haviendole encargado la mayor prontitud y confia que con la posible brevedad estará de regreso providencia que yo he celebrado y le he pedido me indique uno ó dos sujetos á este tenor para poderles embiar á la Ribera Cumberland<sup>18</sup> y Kintucky donde esta la mayor fuerza de la Poblacion Americana y no pueden menos de saberse estas noticias cuya reunion aumentara mi certidumbre á estos observadores que me propongo despachar inmediatamente que Don Felipe Treviño me indique sujetos de confianza y adecuados, añadire lo que V.S. me encarga en su instruccion<sup>19</sup> para asegurarme por quantos medios me sean posibles del numero de tropas Artilleria municiones y calidad de los Batoes ó Chalanes con que pretenden bajar pues yo en vista de todas estas noticias ya no puedo ni devo dudar que real y efectivamente se estan preparando para bajar y apoyar con las armas la demanda y posesion que pretenden y se figuran les corresponden de derecho de todo el territorio Septentrional de este Rio comprehendido hasta los 31 grados y de la Navegacion del Rio.

Don Estevan Minor acaba de decirme que haviendose hallado en conversacion con M<sup>r</sup>. Duvemport sobre la construccion de los Batoes en la Ribera Cheraquis le dijo este que esas noticias eran falsas pues que los Batoes y Chalanes ya havia dias que estavan construidos, tambien le dijo Duvemport que siempre y quando no le dieren posecion

<sup>16</sup> The Tennessee River. The term as used in these documents generally refers to the settlement in Eastern Tennessee, often spoken of as the Holston settlement. Persons who came from the southeast to the lower Mississippi usually made their way to the Long Island of the Holston and there built rafts or flatboats on which they floated down the river.

<sup>17</sup> See Bouligny's letter to Miró, August 28, *post*, p. 326.

<sup>18</sup> The settlement on the Cumberland River in the region of Nashville.

<sup>19</sup> Doubtless given before Bouligny left New Orleans.



de este fuerte y distrito en el termino de dos meses despues de su llegada tenia ordenes para establecer y ejercer en el Distrito la Justicia en nombre de los Estados de la Georgia.

Este es el resumen de las noticias que Don Felipe Treviño y Don Estevan Minor me han comunicado y havida atencion á ellas y á los antecedentes y circunstancias de este pais me parece seria muy preciso y combeniente hacer bajar á esa al citado Duvempport con buen modo si fuese posible punto que reflexionaré interin llega el Bato en cuyo intermedio quisas recibire ordenes de V.S. sobre el particular lo que celebraria infinito por no verme en la prescision de obrar por mi mismo y tomar un partido fuerte dado caso que el se me opusiere. Don Felipe Treviño me dice que ya ha hablado con el citado Duvempport sobre este punto y que la respuesta de este fue que no tendria dificultad en bajar á la Nueva Orleans siempre y quando se le asegurase que no se le haria mal trato proposicion que yo adoptaré si me la hace (pues hasta ahora aun no lo he visto) dandole condicionalmente la seguridad que pide bajo el supuesto de ser cierta la comicion que trae seguridad que á mi modo de entender no le liberta de los cargos que por su conducta desde que ha llegado merece se le hagan dado caso que V.S. lo halle despues por combeniente esta proposicion de Duvempport me da motivo á pensar que algo deve quien tanto teme y es prueba muy cierta de los cargos que su misma consiencia le hace.

Pareceme combeniente añadir aunque me persuado que V.S. no lo ignora que para ir de aquí á la Ribera Cheraquis por tierra un hombre escotero acostumbrado á estos viages nesescita á lo menos 20 dias y que tenga la fortuna de superar muchos malos pasos varios pantanos y Bayues y todos los demas inconvenientes y hasares que es preciso correr para atravesar un pais vasto montuoso lleno de Bosques de Brosa y Maleza razon por la que se puede temer que se retarden ó no lleguen las noticias, corriendo tambien el riesgo de la fidelidad del sujeto que se comicione pues es dificil en este Distrito encontrar un hombre adecuado para esos viages cuya conducta no deje sombras de recelo, ademas estos hombres escotivos que van y buelven tranquilizaran por 15 ó 20 dias al cabo de los quales renaceran otra vez los rumores y las dudas en cuya atencion me parece salvo el dictamen de V.S. que seria combeniente embiar un oficial aproposito y disfrasado con sinco ó seis Soldados de toda su confianza que hiciese su residencia en la misma Ribera Cheraquis y á medida que se ofreciese alguna novedad de co[n]sequencia despachar uno de los Soldados si este pensamiento merece la aprobacion de V.S. me parece que el Subteniente Don Diego Blanco lo desempeñaria por estar reputado por hombre muy esperto en el Bosque, ó otro sujeto á este tenor que V.S. halle por combeniente. Las dificultades que ofrece ese viaje no dá motibo á recelar aqui que tropas formales vengán á atacarnos por ese camino, mayormente teniendo la comodidad de poder formar su expedicion en la misma Ribera Cheraquis y dejandose venir con la corriente presentarse aqui á los 15 ó 20 dias de su salida sin padecer la menor fatiga ni incomodidad. De la Ribera Cheraquis es muy facil saber lo que se pasa en la Ribera Cumberla en la *Chute*<sup>20</sup> y en Rintoches<sup>21</sup> todos Establecimientos que tienen sobre el oyo y los ultimos particularmente donde esta la mayor fuerza de la Poblacion.

<sup>20</sup> The Falls of the Ohio (Louisville).

<sup>21</sup> Rintoches is evidently an error for Kintoches (Kentucky).

Dios nuestro Señor guarde á V.S. los muchos años que deseo. fuerte  
Panmure de Natchez 24 de Julio de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento servidor y Subdito,

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

XXXII. WILLIAM DAVENPORT TO FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.<sup>22</sup>

BELHAVEN<sup>23</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 24 July 1785

*Sir*

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> house of Assembly of the State of Georgia have thought it expedient to form a County upon the Eastern side of the river Mississippi within their Charter Boundaries, which is called and known by the name of Bourbon: Bounded as follows: Beginning at the mouth of the Yazous where it empties itsilfe into the Mississippi, thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi untill it shall intersect the northermost part of the thirtifirst degree of North Latitude, South by a line to be drawn due East from the determination of the line last mentioned in the Latitude of thirtyone degrees North of the Equator as far as the lands reach which in that district have been at any time relinquished by the Indians, thence along the line of the said relinquishment to the said river Yazous, thence down the said river to the beginning—I have the honor to be one of those Gentlemen who are appointed to lay out the said county into districts, and proceed to publick business therein.

But finding your Excellency in possession of this Country obliges me to inform you that the General Assembly of Georgia from a desire to Organize the several parts of the State, and to form and Arrange a system calculated for the free and happy administration of affairs, have thought it advisable to lay out the before mentioned County, so that the People settled there in, may by electing representatives to meet their fellow Citizens in an Assembly participate in the Government.

I have the Honor to subscribe myselve

Y<sup>r</sup>. Most Ob<sup>t</sup>. and very hum<sup>e</sup> servant

W<sup>m</sup>. DAVENPORT.

D<sup>n</sup>. Francis Bouleny Com<sup>dt</sup>.

Civil and Military

Natchez

<sup>22</sup> In the Archives of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State, bundle marked "Foreign Affairs, 1785". The letter is marked on the back: "No. 1. A true copy". All the letters of the Georgia commissioners to the Spanish officials, which are found in the archives of Georgia, are copies which the commissioners sent with their reports to the governor. A Spanish translation of this letter is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

<sup>23</sup> Belhaven appears to have been the residence of Richard Harrison, which was in the Bayou Santa Catalina district. See the address on Bouligny's letters to Davenport, *post*, pp. 305, 311.

<sup>24</sup> Davenport's copy is so dated, and the original of Bouligny's reply (*post*, p. 305) refers to it as "su carta can fecha de ayer". The Spanish translation, however, is dated July 26, and the copy of Bouligny's reply says: "su carta con fecha de oy".

XXXIII. BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, JULY 25, 1785.<sup>26</sup>

*Muy Señor mio:*

Oy se me ha presentado M<sup>r</sup>. Duvemport á quien he recibido con mucha urbanidad y atencion y habiendo entrado en materia le he preguntado por que no bajava á la Nueva Orleans á presentarse á V.S. me ha respondido que solo traia comicion para fijar los limites en los 31 Grados pero no para bajar mas abajo que su encargo solo le dava facultades hasta los 31 Grados y que fuera de esa distancia no era nada ni tenia facultad ninguna. Le he preguntado que como podia tener comicion para fijar los limites por si solo sin conferenciar con los dueños de los paices Limitrofes que no devia ignorar que aun entre particulares nunca se fijavan limites sin que las dos partes contiguas é interezadas asistieren y que siendo el Gobernador de esta Provincia la principal y sola persona á quien corresponde tratar un punto de esta consecuencia me parece era debido se fuese á presentar á el y muy natural que los Estados de la Georgia huviesen dado aviso de esta Miscion al sobre dicho Señor Governador me ha respondido que solo trae la comicion de pedir se le permita fijar los Limites y si se le niega de dar aviso ó bolverse y nada sobre lo restante de la pregunta en vista de esta respuesta y de otras muchas que me ha dado destituidas de razon y fundamento. Le he dicho que asunto de esta consecuencia era mejor y se devian tratar por oficios formales en lo que ha quedado acorde y me ha dicho que mañana empezara. Este metodo me ha parecido mas seguro para hacer notorio ó la falsedad con que este hombre obra ó la injusticia de la Mision que la Provincia de la Georgia ha puesto á su cuidado y como estoy moralmente seguro que se deslizara en sus oficios recaera tanto mejor la violencia con que tengo animo de embiarlo á V.S. dado caso que se niegue á bajar voluntariamente, pareciendome que por ahora este metodo es preferible al de hacerle cargos sobre la conducta de que tengo dado parte á V.S. con fecha de ayer tanto mas que Don Estevan Minor me ha pedido no me dé por entendido de nada de lo que por su conducto hemos sabido por que no entre en desconfianza dado caso que sea esta y no la intencion de que se sepa la razon por la que se ha abierto con el con tanta franquesa. Lo he tratado despues con mucha politica lo he combidado á comer le he concedido que salgan á pasearse los sugetos que bajaron con el y que Don Felipe Treviño tenia arrestados en el Fuerte con la condicion que me devia responder de ellos y presentarmelos cada dos ó tres días<sup>27</sup> haviendo uno solo llamado Juan Woods por hechos anteriores muy audases y atrevidos que ha confesado y ratificado delante de mi y de que daré á V.S. parte en oficio separado.<sup>27</sup>

Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años que deseo. Fuerte de Panmure de Natchez 25 de Julio de 1785

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas seguro atento Servidor y Subdito,

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.

S<sup>or</sup>. Don Estevan Miró.

<sup>26</sup> Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. This is Bouligny's letter no. 4 to Miró.

<sup>26</sup> See Treviño to Miró, July 4 (p. 98, *supra*); and Davenport to Elbert, July 17 (p. 105, *supra*), and July 26 (*post*, p. 305).

<sup>27</sup> Probably Bouligny's letter no. 3 to Miró, which is missing.

XXXIV. BOULIGNY TO DAVENPORT, JULY 26, 1785.<sup>28</sup>

*Muy Señor mio:*

Como el caracter de comisario que el Estado de la Georgia dice vm le ha dado para fixar y determinar los Limites que deven separar las posesiones de S. M. C. con las de los Estados unidos de America no ha sido reconocido aun por el S<sup>or</sup>. D<sup>n</sup>. Estevan Miró coronel de los Reales Exercitos y Governador General de esta Provincia a quien solo y privativamente corresponde este conocimiento, devo decir a vm que no entraré en contextacion ninguna sobre los puntos de que vm me trata en su carta con fecha de ayer; Deseando scaber de vm solamente las razones por las quales se detiene vm a qui tanto tiempo sin manifestar ninguna solicitud para que se verifique el presiso e indispensable requisito de presentarse vm personalmente con los Documentos que lo autorisen (qualesquiera que sean) al sobre dicho principal Gefé sin cuyas ordenes ninguno de los subditos y dependientes que se hallan en esta Provincia baxo su mando puede reconocer el caracter con que vm pretende estar revestido ni conferenciar con vm sobre puntos de esta naturaleza, particularmente aquellos que por una gracia particular de la clemencia de S. M. hazen su residencia en esta Distrito de Natchez conquistado y poseido por las Gloriosas Armas de nuestro inclito y catolico Monarca al conocimiento del Mundo entero.

Dios Guarde a vm muchos anos. fuerte de Panmure de Natchez 26 de Julio de 1785.

B L M de vm su mas Seguro Servidor

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. BOULIGNY.

S<sup>or</sup>. D<sup>n</sup>. Guillermo Davenport.

[Addressed:]

a D<sup>n</sup>. Guillermo Davenport residente en la habitacion de  
d<sup>n</sup>. ricardo harrisson en el distrito de Natchez

XXXV. WILLIAM DAVENPORT TO SAMUEL ELBERT.<sup>29</sup>

NEAR FORT PANMURE 26<sup>th</sup> July 1785

*Sir*

Since my letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> Lieutenant Gov<sup>r</sup>. Bouleny has arrived and taken the command, to whom I immediately made application for the liberty of the Men confined, which was granted without hesitation, upon my becoming security for their behaviour during their stay in this Country, requesting me to immediately acquaint him of my business in this District. I answered him he should be informed by letter in the morning, and have enclosed you a true copy of my Letters and his Originals.

M<sup>r</sup> Guillard and Banks two of the Gent<sup>n</sup> mentioned as Majestates in the Bourbon Bill declare they will not be subject to the Laws of

<sup>28</sup> Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, bundle marked "Foreign Affairs, 1785". The letter is marked on the wrapper "N<sup>o</sup>. 1". A copy is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. The original is accompanied by a crude translation made in Bouligny's office. In his letter to Miró, July 30 (*post*, p. 308), Bouligny says that he always sends translations of his letters, though unsigned, otherwise Davenport would be unable to reply to them.

<sup>29</sup> Archives of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785".

Georgia; and assembled the Inhabitants to sign a petition to send to Congress, praying that this country should be formed into a separate State.<sup>30</sup>

It being contrary to the Spanish Laws, that the Inhabitants should be assembled, but by their authority. The Governor has taken the before mentioned Guillard, Banks, and Richard<sup>31</sup> Ellis sen<sup>r</sup>., who are confined in the Fort, their destiny yet unknown.

I have the Honor to subscribe myselfe

Y<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>o</sup>. Obt. Sev<sup>t</sup>.

W. DAVENPORT.

S. Elbert Esq<sup>r</sup>.

[Addressed:]

The Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Samuel Elbert

Cap<sup>t</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Governor and Commander in Chief in and over  
the State  
Georgia

XXXVI. DAVENPORT TO BOULIGNY.<sup>32</sup>

BELHAVEN 28<sup>th</sup> July 1785

Sir

Yours of yesterday<sup>33</sup> informs me you will not enter into any Contestations<sup>34</sup> respecting the business which brought me hither, wishing only to know the reason which detained me so long in this country, from waiting on his Excellency D<sup>n</sup>. Stephen Miro Colonel of the Armies and Governor General of this Province.

I should have done myselfe the Honour to have waited on his Excellency had he been within the limits to which my Instructions confine me. But on my arrival at this place, finding Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Col. Treveno Commandand at Fort Panmure I imediately waited on him, inform'd him of my business; and produced my authority. Since your Honor has arrived and took the Command, I have Informed you by letter of my business and the limits of my instructions.

Had the honorable Legeslature of Georgia known that his most Catholick Majesty had a claim to this part of the Territory, which was granted them by the definitive treaty between the United States of America and his Britanick Majesty I make no doubt but that they would have addrest themselves to his Excellency D<sup>n</sup>. Stephen Miro. I wish to take the earliest opportunity of informing his Excellency Samuel Elbert Governer Cap<sup>t</sup>. General and commander in chief in and over the state of Georgia, that his Most Catholick Majesty claims this as part of his Teritories, and make no doubt but our instructions

<sup>30</sup> See document number VIII., p. 77, and foot-note 142, *supra*, p. 103.

<sup>31</sup> "John" originally; "Richard" inserted by another hand.

<sup>32</sup> Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". It is marked on the back "N<sup>o</sup>. 2 A true copy". A Spanish translation, inclosed in letter of Bouligny to Miró, July 30 (*post*, p. 308), is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

<sup>33</sup> Bouligny's letter of July 26, *ante*, p. 305.

<sup>34</sup> Davenport gets the word from Bouligny's translation.

will be lengthened to that Channell you mentioned this business must go through

I have the Honor to subscribe myselfe

Y<sup>r</sup>. Most Ob<sup>t</sup>. and very Hble Ser<sup>t</sup>.

W<sup>m</sup>. DAVENPORT.

D<sup>n</sup>. Francis Bouligny Com<sup>dt</sup>

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XXXVII. BOULIGNY TO DAVENPORT, JULY 29, 1785.<sup>85</sup>

*Mui Señor mio:*

Los rumores que se han esparcido en este Distrito desde la llegada de Vm. há inducido á algunos de sus moradores en cavilaciones que pueden ocasionarles mucho daño y perjuicio, deseando yo por mi parte evitarles en lo venidero estos males dimanados quizas de las conbersiones suscitadas por Vm, hallo preciso é indispensable que Vm. continúe su viage para presentarse en la Nueva Orleans al Gefé Principal de esta Provincia, en quien encontrara Vm. seguramente la buena acogida que el caracter con que Vm. dice estar revestido merece, y que yo por mi parte no puedo reconocer por las razones que tengo á Vm. expuestas.

Devo tambien decir á Vm. que nuestras Leyes no nos permiten dar acogida á ningun Estrangero sin una orden expresa del Gefé que

<sup>85</sup> Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. It is inclosed in letter (no. 9) of Bouligny to Miró, July 30, *post*, p. 308. This is Bouligny's letter no. 2 to Davenport and is marked: "Copia. Mi respuesta á la 2<sup>a</sup>. Carta". The original has disappeared but Bouligny's translation is in the Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". It reads as follows:

"The troubles that has spread themselves in this district since your arrival here have induced some of the inhabitants in a sort of cabal wich may probably be of a great detriment to them. Wishing for my part as much as lay in my power to spare them for the future those troubles that ase perhaps arise [have perhhaps arisen] from your conversations, I find absolutly necessary you should pursue your voyage to new orleans and Wait on the principal chief of this province in wich you will find certainly such reception as is due to the character that you pretend to be invested of, and wich for my part I cannot acknowledge for the reasons I have already mentioned to you I must tell you also that our Laws does not permit to admit any foreigners without one express ordre from the chief that command in and ower this command and wich command does not only extend here, but great deal further.

"D<sup>n</sup>. William Guardoqy sent by his catolique Majesty. to the united State of america as agent started from havana in the Later end of april to go to philadelphia where very likely he has determin'd the limits that bounds the possessions of his Cat<sup>que</sup>. Majestys and those of the united States of america therefore we may believe that you shall receive from his Excellency D<sup>n</sup>. Samuel Elbert Cap<sup>na</sup>. General and Commander in Chief in and over the state of Georgia orders relatives to it as this government receive theirs from his Excellency Count of Galvez viceroy of Mexico and Captain general of this province, and untill then it is more proper that you should be in Orleans than here, where you will enjoy greater satisfaction and this district more quietness."

It should be borne in mind that these translations were the letters which the Georgia commissioners actually read. See foot-note 28, *ante*.

Gobierna la Provincia, y que el mando de este se estiende no solo á este, sino tambien á otros muchos mas remotos Districtos. Don Diego Gardoqui<sup>36</sup> embiado por S.M. á cerca de los Estados Unidos de America, salio de la Havana á fines de Abril para Filadelfia donde es regular haya arreglado con el Congreso los limites que deven separar las posesiones de S.M. Catolica, y las de los Estados Unidos de America, en cuya consecuencia es natural que Vm. reciva las correspondientes ordenes de su Excelencia Don Samuel Elbert, Capitan General, y Comandante en Gefe del estado de la Georgia, como este Gobierno las recibiera sin duda Exmo. Señor Conde de Galvez, Virrey de Nueva España, y Capitan General de esta Provincia, en cuyo intermedio es mas natural que Vm. haga su mansion á la Nueva Orleans que no aqui, con lo que logrará Vm. mas satisfacciones, y este Distrito mas tranquilidad.

Dios guarde á Vm. muchos años. Fuerte Panmur de Natchez. 29 de Junio<sup>37</sup> de 1785. B.L.M. de Vm. su mas seguro servidor,

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.

S<sup>r</sup>. Don Guilermo Davemport.

XXXVIII. BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, JULY 30, 1785.<sup>38</sup>

*Mui Señor mio:*

Adjunto incluyo á V.S. la traduccion de la segunda carta<sup>39</sup> que he resivido de M<sup>r</sup>. Dabamport, y mi repuesta<sup>40</sup> al confidente y Secretario de dicho Dabamport, es uno que vino con el nombrado M<sup>r</sup>. Smit, este sujeto me ha informado Don Felipe Treviño que se ha comportado bien desde su llegada aqui, es hombre de un aspecto formal y que denota tener juicio y prudencia. Maisner me acaba de decir que quando fue á llebar mi ultima respuesta á Davemport no haviendole encontrado en casa la dio al citado Smit, haciendole ver á este la copia simple de la traduccion que siempre le he embiado de mis cartas aun que no firmada, por que sin este requisito no pudieran contestarla.<sup>41</sup> Dicho Smit la ha leydo manifestando aprobava su contenido, y disriendole á Maisner que ya havia dicho á Davemport, que su conducta no hera regular, ni seria aqui sufrida.

Por lo que me han dicho varios, juzgo que la razon Principal de la oposicion que Davemport, hace ha bajar es por que no tiene un quarto, y no quisiera ir á hacer ver á la Nueva Orleans su miseria parece que desde mi llegada en vista de las fuerzas que he traído, y las que saven aqui deven subir juntamente con la prision hecha de Gaillard, Ellis, y

<sup>36</sup> Gardoqui had arrived in Philadelphia on May 20 and had been received by Congress in New York on July 2. See *supra*, p. 79, foot-note 56. Rumors of the trouble at Natchez evidently reached him shortly afterward (see *supra*, p. 111, foot-note 177). On June 15 William Grayson, a member of Congress from Virginia, wrote (probably to William Short): "Georgia has laid off a county on the Mississippi called Bourbon and settlers are gathering fast above the Natches." The letter is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection.

<sup>37</sup> This is an error for Julio.

<sup>38</sup> Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. This is no. 9.

<sup>39</sup> Davenport to Bouligny, July 28, *ante*, p. 306.

<sup>40</sup> Bouligny to Davenport, July 29, *ante*, p. 307.

<sup>41</sup> See foot-notes 28 and 35.



Soton Bankes,<sup>42</sup> ha infundido un cierto temor respetuoso que contiene á los mas desafectos de modo que ya no llega á mis oydos el menor rumor al tenor de los pasados, confiando que antes que salga de aqui el Doctor Fara,<sup>43</sup> dare á V.S. las mas detalladas noticias de quanto pasa en el Distrito, y de lo que ha ocurrido en las riberas del oyo al paso de Duvemport por ellas, pues entre los sujetos que han venido con Davamport, ay uno llamado Francisco Brezina<sup>44</sup> hombre ya mayor que ha hecho su macion muchos años con el Doctor Fara, en la America, y que no ha venido aqui con otra mira que de hallar acogida en casa del citado Fara, á quien mira como su bien hechor y Padre, y con quien devo creer no tendrá secreto ninguno que no le releve.

Aunque no me queda duda que el Doctor Fara es Americano por nacimiento, é inclinacion, el Juicio y prudencia que ha manifestado desde que ha llegado á este Pais me dan mucho motivo á tener en el confianza, y que es incapaz de comprometerse en cabilaciones como las que han circulado en este distrito, pues esa prueba altamente la micion de Dabemport y de sus compañeros, diciendo que es una marcha muy irregular la que ha tomado la Georgia, y que solo á los Estados Unidos pertenece hacer esa reclamacion, y eso con la corte de España, y por ningun motivo aqui.

Me alegrare que mi modo de pensar y obrar merescan la aprobacion de V.S. de quien esperaria seguramente las Ordenes para todo si las circunstancias de las cosas y los asuntos perentorios que se ofresen no me pusiesen en la presisa necesidad de obrar por mi mismo, teniendo por mira principal el espiritu de las ordenes de V.S. y por regla de todas mis acciones mi celo por el Real Servicio, y el honor que me gobierna. Si en algo me equivoco confio lo disculpará V.S. me hara la Justicia de mirarlo mas como yerros de mi entendimiento que como faltas en que tenga la menos parte la voluntad.

El Doctor Fara, despacho su Piragua á la Punta Cortada<sup>45</sup> para que suban algunas proviciones para Don Jacinto Gaillard y su familia, que el hijo de este ha traído consigo y tiene en casa del citado Fara, en lo que me ha parecido no havia inconveniente; le he entregado este paquete que contiene el n.º. 8 y 9<sup>46</sup> para que lo haga entregar al Comandante de la punta cortada á fin que este lo dirija á V. S. con primera ocasion.

Dios guarde á V.S. los muchos años que deseo. Fuerte Parmure de Natchez 30 de Julio de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento y seguro servidor y Subdito,

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

<sup>42</sup> The arrest probably took place on July 26. Bouligny does not mention it in his letter of July 25 to Miró, but Davenport does speak of it in his letter to Governor Elbert, July 26. See also *supra*, p. 95, foot-note 109, and *post*, p. 322.

<sup>43</sup> Benjamin Farrar, one of the justices named in the Bourbon County Act. See further Bouligny's letter to Miró, August 4, *post*, p. 319.

<sup>44</sup> For a further account of Brezino, see *ibid*.

<sup>45</sup> Farrar's residence was at Pointe Coupée. Compare Bouligny to Miró, August 4, *post*, p. 319, and Miró to the Conde de Galvez, August 14, *post*, p. 323.

<sup>46</sup> No. 9 is evidently this letter. No. 8 was probably Bouligny's report of the trials of Ellis, Gaillard, and Banks. See the letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, August 14, *post*, p. 323.

XXXIX. DAVENPORT TO BOULIGNY.<sup>47</sup>BROCAS'S<sup>48</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> July 1785

Sir

Yours of yesterday<sup>49</sup> informs me that troubles have spread themselves in this district, since my arrival which has induced some of the Inhabitants in a sort of a Cabal. Upon my arrival here I found the people in great confusion by the imprudence of M<sup>r</sup>. Greens not addressing himself properly to the commandant, but to the people, and M<sup>r</sup>. Guillard collecting the Inhabitants in order to oppose the measures taken by the Legislature of Georgia and that this might become a separate State.

I was called on by a number of People for my opinion I justify myself by saying my advice to them was to repara to their plantations and attend to their crops, that the Business was to go through another channel not them, this I will refer to any Gentleman who ever heard me speake upon the occasion.<sup>50</sup> Your letter says, you find it absolutely necessary I should proceed to Orleans. My Instructions positively order me to remain in these premises untill I receive further orders. But if your honor pleases I wish to have a personal conferance with you to morrow on that Subject.<sup>51</sup>

I have the honor to Subscribe myselfe

Y<sup>r</sup>. Most Obe<sup>dt</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

W<sup>m</sup>. DAVENPORT.

D<sup>n</sup>. Francis Bouleny Com<sup>dt</sup>.

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XL. BOULIGNY TO DAVENPORT, JULY 30, 1785.<sup>52</sup>

*Muy Señor mio:*

Hallandome yo obligado á dar quenta á mis Superiores, no solo de todas las demandas y solicitudes que Vm. haga, sino tambien de todos los pasos y diligencias que practique, se hace indispensable que todas sus solicitudes seán por oficios formales, que sirvan de documentos Justificativos no solo de las demandas de Vm. sino tambien de mis respuestas, por lo que espero no hallará Vm. á mal que continuemos un metodo que es ventajoso a entrambos para dar quenta de nuestra conducta a nuestros respectibos Gefes.

Devo no obstante repetir a Vm. que las instrucciones sobre que se apoya para hacer su macion aqui, no pueden, ni deven tener efecto, hasta que el Gefe de esta Provincia reconosca, y dé el correspondiente

<sup>47</sup> Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". It is marked "N<sup>o</sup>. 3 a true copy". A Spanish translation is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

<sup>48</sup> The house of William Brocas. It was in the same section of the Natchez district in which Richard Harrison lived, the Bayou Santa Catalina.

<sup>49</sup> *Ante*, p. 307. See also foot-note 35.

<sup>50</sup> Compare the statement of Minor, p. 100, *supra*.

<sup>51</sup> See *post*, pp. 311, 312.

<sup>52</sup> The original (marked on wrapper "N<sup>o</sup>. 3") and the translation which accompanied it are in the Archives of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". A copy is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

pase a los titulos que lo autorizan, sin cuyo preciso requisito, ni yo puedo dar ascenso á dichos documentos, ni permitir mas largo tiempo su permanencia en este distrito, estrañando la oposicion que Vm. manifiesta á un paso tan regular y debido, mayormente con la seguridad que doy a Vm. que hallará en dho Gefe el mas distinguido acojim<sup>to</sup>. no haviendo motibo para dudar de ello en vista de la distincion y particular amistad de que nuestro Soberano ha dado á las Provincias particulares de America, y á los Estados Unidos que las representan las mas notorias y autenticas pruebas.

Por lo que respecta á venirme á ver personalmente,<sup>53</sup> puede Vm. executar lo quando guste, seguro que en ello recibire siempre particular complacencia.

Dios Gué a Vm. m<sup>s</sup>. a<sup>s</sup>. Fuerte Parmure<sup>54</sup> de Natchez, 30 de Julio de 1785.

B L M de Vm su mas Seguro Servidor

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. BOULIGNY.

S<sup>or</sup>. D<sup>n</sup>. Guillermo Davenport

[Addressed:]

A D<sup>n</sup>. Guillermo Davenport en la Havitacion de D<sup>n</sup>. Ricardo Harison  
Natchez

XLI. DAVENPORT TO BOULIGNY.<sup>55</sup>

BELHAVEN 31<sup>st</sup> July 1785

Sir:

As Nicholas Long and Nathaniel Christmas Esq<sup>rs</sup> who are appointed to act jointly with me in this business will certainly be here in the course of this week,<sup>56</sup> and as it is necessary that those Gentlemen should wait upon his Excellency as well as me will deem it a favour that this matter may rest untill their arrival, as I am answerable to my superior for my conduct.

It was by no means my wish that the mode or method of carrying on business by letter should be abolished only on small matters not worth committing to paper was the reason of my desire of a Conference.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Compare Davenport's letter, *ante*, p. 310, and his reply which follows.

<sup>54</sup> In some of Bouligny's earlier letters the name of the fort is plainly written "Parmure".

<sup>55</sup> Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". It is marked "N<sup>o</sup>. 4 A true copy".

<sup>56</sup> Compare Bouligny's statement with reference to Captain Call and Dr. West (letter of July 24), *ante*, p. 300. Long and Christmas did not, in fact, arrive until about a month from this time. See their letter of August 29, *post*, p. 329, and Bouligny's letter of August 28, *post*, p. 326.

<sup>57</sup> See Davenport's letter to Bouligny, July 30, and Bouligny's reply of same date, *ante*, pp. 310-311. Bouligny's translation of the passage in his letter of July 30 is as follows: "It is absolutely Necessary that all your Pretentions should be by Officious letters, that may serve of tittles Justifications, not only of your demands, but also of my Answers, for which I flatter myself you will not take it Amiss, that we should continue a method which is convenient and proper to both, to give and Account of our Conduct to our Chief respectives." Davenport may have hoped to "influence" Bouligny.

I have the Honor to subscribe myself  
Y<sup>r</sup>. Most Ob<sup>t</sup>. Ser<sup>t</sup>.

W<sup>m</sup>. DAVENPORT.

D<sup>a</sup>. Francis Bouleny Com<sup>dt</sup>.  
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XLII. BOULIGNY TO DAVENPORT, JULY 31, 1785.<sup>88</sup>

*Mui Señor mio:*

Adhiero gustoso á la proposicion que Vm. me hace de bajar a presentarse al Gefe de esta Provincia luego que lluegen D<sup>a</sup>. Nicolas Long y D<sup>a</sup>. Natanial Christmas, compañeros de Vm. que deven estar aqui esta semana, pudiendo Vm. en el interin subcistir en este Distrito, meresiendo á Vm. solamente de no conferenciar ni tractar de los asuntos que está Vm. encargado con ningun individuo de aqui, pues estos asuntos deven antes todo ser presentados al Gefe principal y no á otro.

Dios Gué á Vm. m<sup>s</sup>. a<sup>s</sup>. Fuerte Parmure de Natchez 31 de Julio de 1785.

B L M de vm Su mas Seg<sup>o</sup>. Servidor

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. BOULIGNY.

S<sup>or</sup>. D<sup>a</sup>. Guillermo Dabenport

[Addressed:]

A d<sup>a</sup>. Guillermo Davenport en la habitacion de d<sup>a</sup>. ricardo harrison  
Natchez

XLIII. THE CONDE DE GALVEZ TO MIRÓ, AUGUST 2, 1785.<sup>89</sup>

El 16 del proximo pasado Julio llegó á esta Cap<sup>l</sup> el Teniente de ese Regimiento fixo Dn. Vicente Folch y me entrego las dos cartas de V.S. de 14 y 20 de Junio ultimo num<sup>os</sup> 198 y 199.<sup>90</sup>

Por ellas y p<sup>r</sup> los Documentos que las acompañan me hé instruido de las nuebas ocurrencias de esa Colonia; de las pretencion<sup>s</sup>. con que se há presentado Tomas Green al Comand<sup>te</sup> del Fuerte de Natchez por parte del Estado de Georgia; de la conducta que ha manifestado con este motivo Dn. Tacito Gaillard y algunos otros y de quantas disposiciones y provid<sup>as</sup> há dictado V.S. en obvio de las fatales resultas q<sup>o</sup> justam<sup>te</sup> pudieran temerse de estas novedades, si con efecto pasasen adelante.

Apruebo desde luego todo lo que V.S. ha practicado en esta parte, como proprio de su prudencia, talento militar y zelo p<sup>r</sup>. el Rl. serv<sup>o</sup>; y paso á manifestar á V.S. mi resolucion en ord<sup>a</sup> á los auxilios que me pide.

Habiendo combinado la critica situacion en que V.S. se halla con los inconvenientes que ofrece el envio de Socorros en la actualidad á esa

<sup>88</sup> The original, accompanied by translation, is in the Archives of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". It is marked on the wrapper "N<sup>o</sup>. 4". A copy is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

<sup>89</sup> Mexico, Archivo General y Público, Sección de Historia, tomo 162 ("Carp<sup>a</sup>. No. 3. Div<sup>n</sup>. 4<sup>a</sup>. del L<sup>o</sup>. No. 5—No. 1<sup>o</sup>.").

<sup>90</sup> Printed, pp. 74 and 91, *supra*.

Provincia hé encontrado no pocas dificultades en la practica y desde luego gradué de ardua qualquiera determinacion.

Para darla con mas acierto convoqué á Junta extraordinaria de Guerra y R<sup>1</sup> Haz<sup>da</sup>. y efectivam<sup>te</sup> se celebró el 18 del citado Julio.

En ella se leyeron mui detenidamente las dos representacion<sup>s</sup> de V.S. y los Docum<sup>tos</sup> que las instruian y meditado todo con la debida reflexion, contrage á dos puntos esencialm<sup>te</sup> lo que habia de conferenciarse en la Junta.

Fue el prim<sup>o</sup> Si las noticias comunicadas p<sup>r</sup> V.S. prestaban solido fundam<sup>to</sup> p<sup>a</sup> creerse las fatales consecuencias que se temian? Y en quanto á esto se opinó uniformem<sup>te</sup> p<sup>r</sup> la afirmativa; pues los contestes avisos que V.S. habia recibido de diversos parages, y el considerable num<sup>o</sup> de Tropa con que se aseguraba estar sostenido el Apoderado del Estado de Georgia, dejaba mui poco que dudar de sus designios.

El segundo punto prop<sup>to</sup> fué Si graduados de legitimos y justos los temores de algun insulto á nros Establecimientos deberian enviarse á V.S. los auxilios que pedia no obstante la critica estacion de los meses de Ag<sup>to</sup>, Sep<sup>re</sup> y Octubre para navegar en el seno Mexicano: y p<sup>r</sup> lo que hace á esto se resolvió que no seria prud<sup>a</sup> exponer á los riezos del presente tiempo de los uracanes en estos mares; ni un considerable numero de Tropa, que en caso de qualquiera desgracia, no podria volver se á reponer; ni porcion crecida de caudales, armas pertrechos, Artilleria y municiones Por esta razón; p<sup>r</sup> que seria dificil hallar comp<sup>te</sup> num<sup>o</sup> de embarcacion<sup>s</sup> proporcionadas p<sup>a</sup> la entrada del Misisipi; por no dilatar los auxilios; por creer que estos no podrian llegar á tiempo de evitar el primer golpe en caso de haber insistido el Estado de Georgia en sus intentos; y lo que es mas, por que á la presente se contenplaba con mucha probabilidad que estaria ya todo compuesto con el arribo á Filadelfia del Encargado de Negocios de nra. Corte cerca del Congreso Americano Dn. Diego Gardoquí; convinieron todos los vocales y se acordó unanimemente: que por aora solo se dirgiesen á V.S. p<sup>r</sup> via de pronto socorro una ó dos Embarcacion<sup>s</sup> proporcionadas con los caud<sup>s</sup>. Armas, Artill<sup>a</sup>, y municion<sup>s</sup>. que yo tubiese p<sup>r</sup> conveniente y ademas alg<sup>n</sup>. corto num<sup>o</sup>. de Tropa de la misma que guarnece á Veracruz.

Esta fue en subst<sup>a</sup> la determina<sup>n</sup> de la Junta: y habiendome conformado con ella la mande executar p<sup>r</sup> mi Decreto de 19 del citado Julio. Asi consta de la Copia num<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>o</sup>.<sup>61</sup>

En consecuencia de esto envio á ese Puerto la Frag<sup>ta</sup> S<sup>n</sup>. Josef el Benturoso, y el Berg<sup>n</sup> Sn Anton<sup>o</sup> ambos Guardacostas de S.M. y con ellos remito (dividido todo de por mitad) doscientos mil p<sup>s</sup>. en dinero para que se inviertan precisam<sup>te</sup>. en los indispensables gastos de estas Expedicion<sup>s</sup> y no en algun otro objeto; y ademas la Artilleria, Armas, municiones y Pertrechos que se expresan en la Copia n<sup>o</sup>. 2<sup>o</sup>.

Por lo que hace á Tropa he tenido p<sup>r</sup>. conven<sup>te</sup>. que solo vayan cinquenta hombres con un Cap<sup>n</sup>. y un Subalterno; del Reg<sup>to</sup>. de Ynf<sup>a</sup>. de Zamora mas no considerados como auxilio, sino como guarnicion de los mismos Buques p<sup>a</sup>. la ma<sup>or</sup>. seguridad de los intereses y ef<sup>tos</sup>. de cuid<sup>o</sup>. que llevan á su bordo.

Al Berg<sup>n</sup> Galveztown lo hé despachado p<sup>a</sup> Filadelfia con Escala en la Hav<sup>a</sup> para dar aviso de estas ocurrencias; y al Gov<sup>or</sup>. de aq<sup>u</sup>. Plaza

<sup>61</sup> The account of this junta is so fully summarized in this and the following letter that the record referred to is omitted here. It is found in the Arch. Gen. y Púb., Sec. de Hist., tomo 162, together with considerable related correspondence.

ruego que si V.S. ocurriese allí en solicitud de auxilios por la facilidad que presta la ma<sup>or</sup>. proporcion y freq<sup>a</sup>. de ocasion<sup>a</sup>. se los franquee con la presteza y eficacia posible. Sirva á V.S. de gov<sup>no</sup>.

Si el presente tiempo de aguas no embarazará el envío de Tropas á Veracruz para remplazo de su Guarnicion que se compone de 600 hombres, la remitiera á V.S. toda sin embargo de los riezgos del mar en la actual estacion; pero el hácer marchar su relevo al fatal clima de aquel Puerto en la fuerza de las lluvias, seria perder inutilmen<sup>te</sup>. tantos hombr<sup>s</sup> quantos se pusiesen en camino, como V.S. sabe mui bien; dejar aquella plaza desguarnezida, no puede ser ni debe imaginarse; y cubrirla con las Milicias poniendo á estas sobre las Armas ofrece en el dia inconvenientes insuperables.

Lo expuesto es quanto hé podido hacer para acreditar á V.S. el interés q<sup>o</sup> me tomo en sus cuidados. Espero que en el dia estara V.S. libre de ellos de resultados de la llegada de Gardoqui al Norte de America como dexo expuesto; pero si asi no fuese, cuente V.S. con q<sup>o</sup> en virtud de sus nuevos avisos le socorreré en mejor tiempo con quanto queda y permitan las no mui ábundan<sup>tes</sup>. proporcion<sup>a</sup>. de este R<sup>no</sup> pues debo interesarme con empeño en todo aquello que diga relacion á esa Prov<sup>a</sup>.

Dios, etc. 2 de Ag<sup>to</sup>. de 1785.

Sr. Dn. Estevan Miró.

XLIV. THE CONDE DE GALVEZ TO JOSEF DE GALVEZ, AUGUST 2, 1785.<sup>62</sup>

*Exmo. Señor:*

*Mui Señor mio:*

El 16 del inmediato pasado Julio llegó á esta Capital el Teniente del Reg<sup>to</sup>. fijo de la Luisiana D<sup>a</sup>. Vizente Folch despachado por el Gov<sup>or</sup>. de aquella Prov<sup>a</sup> D<sup>a</sup>. Estevan Miró, solo con el fin de conducirme sus dos Cartas de 14 y 20 de Junio en que me dá parte de las nuebas ocurr<sup>as</sup>. y designios de los Americanos sobre el Territorio de Natchéz.

Dice en la primera que desde mui poco despues de ajustada la ultima Paz entre nra Corte y la de Londres corrieron varias voces vagas en aquella Provincia de que los Americanos intentaban hacerse dueños del distrito de Natchéz por comprehendido en los 31 grad<sup>s</sup> latitud N. limites señalades p<sup>r</sup>. los Yngleses en sus tratados con los estados Unidos: Y que en los ultimos dias de Mayo y h<sup>ta</sup>. mediados del citado Junio se avivaron mas estas especies y recibio noticias contextes y fidedignas de diversos parages (cuyas copias acompaña), que no solo confirmaban las primeras, sino añadian hallarse yá dos mil y quinientos hombres en lo alto del Río Ohio con este Objeto.

En la Segunda Carta de 20 de Junio expone Miró; que teniendo ya dispuesto darme quenta por extraordin<sup>o</sup> de esta noved<sup>a</sup>. sobrevino la de haberle escrito el Comand<sup>te</sup>. de Natchéz avisandole haberselo presentado un tal Tomas Green, á quien se dio establecim<sup>to</sup>. en aq<sup>a</sup>. Prov<sup>a</sup>. el año de 82, y fue preciso desterrarlo de ella por su conducta sospechosa, con Poderes del Estado de Georgia intimandole le entregase el Fuerte y su distrito, ó que de no acceder desde luego á su pretencion le diese una respuesta categorca para ocurrir con ella á los que le habian enviado, y esperar allí las resultas sin proseguir á nada mas

<sup>62</sup> Mexico, Arch. Gen. y Púb., Correspondencia de los Virreyes, Real Audiencia, 1779-1786, tomo 15. This is no. 82 and is marked "Reservada". There is a brief letter of same date to Floridablanca, *ibid*.

obrando en esto con arreglo á las ord<sup>s</sup>. que trahia: Que el Com<sup>te</sup>. contestó á Green no era arbitro de resolver por sí en un asunto de tanta gravedad; pero que daria parte al Gov<sup>or</sup>. y le comunicaria su determinacion. Que á consecuencia de esto, y despues de haber respondido en los terminos que merecia semejante Embajada y la clase del sugeto que la trahia, habia tomado y quedaba dictando q<sup>tas</sup>. provid<sup>as</sup>. permitia su actual critica constitucion y consideró oportunas para precaverse de qual quier insulto que intentasen los Americanos: Y finalmente me instruye radicalmente de todo lo ocurrido con remision de Documentos; me manifiesta el debil estado de fuerzas de aq<sup>a</sup>. Prov<sup>a</sup>. y me pide, por si saliesen ciertos sus rezelos, le envíe con la mayor brevedad á lo menos mil hombres de Tropa veterana, y los auxilios que considera indispensables de dinero, Armas y Municiones.

Examinado bien el contexto de estas dos representaciones y de todos sus comprobantes tubé presente que tal vez estaria ya todo sosegado con la llegada á Filadelfia del Encargado de Negocios de Nra. Corte cerca del Congreso de los Estados Unidos D<sup>n</sup>. Diego Gardoqui, y que en caso de haber pasado adelante los Americanos en sus designios era muy probable que ya estubiese decidido este asunto; y por consiguiente que no podian llegar á tiempo los socorros de evitar el primer golpe. Por otra parte, la poca Tropa que existe en este R<sup>no</sup>. pues solo hai dos Regimientos de Ynfant<sup>a</sup>. mui incompletos; la escasez de Buques proporcionados para entrar en el Misisipi; la cruel proxima estacion de los Uracanes en todo este Seno Mexicano; lo difcil que seria reponer los auxilios que ahora se enviassen si succediese una desgracia, particularm<sup>te</sup>. en quanto á Tropa; con otras varias reflexiones sobre el asunto: Todo me hizo comprehender lo arduo de la resolucion y me obligó á procurar medios para asegurar el acierto.

Con este objeto conferencié el asunto extrajudicialm<sup>te</sup>. con el Insp<sup>or</sup>. D<sup>n</sup>. Josef Ezpeleta, y convoque á Junta extraordin<sup>a</sup>. de Guerra y R<sup>l</sup>. Hacienda.

Celebrose esta el dia 18 del proximo pasado Julio; y haviendose visto en ella mui detenidamente las dos citadas Cartas del Gov<sup>or</sup>. de la Luisiana D<sup>n</sup>. Estevan Miró con todos los Docum<sup>tos</sup>. que las instruian, se pasó á tratar acerca de los dos puntos que propuse y fueron el 1<sup>o</sup> Si las noticias recibidas eran bastantes para creerse las resultas que se temian? y el 2<sup>o</sup>. si en caso de conceptuarse así deberian enviarse los auxilios pedidos no obstante la critica estacion de los meses de Agosto, Sep<sup>re</sup>. y Oct<sup>re</sup>. para navegar en el Seno Mexicano?

En quanto á lo prim<sup>o</sup>. fueron todos de sentir que no debia dudarse de los designios de los Americanos, pues eran mui contextes los avisos que se tenian, y deban bastante que sospechar los preparativos de Gente armada con que cubrian sus intentos, aun que esta todavia no se habia presentado.

Resuelto el primer punto y pasadose á tratar sobre el segundo se tocaron las mismas dificultades y objecion<sup>s</sup> que déjo apuntadas; y en su consecuencia convinieron todos los vocales en que, sin embargo de la necesidad calificada, se enviase por ahora unicam<sup>te</sup>. á la Luisiana el corto é interino Socorro de din<sup>o</sup>. Armas y municion<sup>s</sup>. que yo tubiese por conveniente y pudiesen llevar una ó dos Embarcacion<sup>s</sup>. que se fletasen al intento, y ademas alguna Tropa de la que guarnece á Veracruz, para acreditar con esto á aquel Govern<sup>or</sup>. la justa considera<sup>on</sup>.



que merecen á este Gov<sup>no</sup>. sus cuidados; contestandosele en estos terminos sus cartas, y ofreciendosele auxiliar mas ampliamente en mejor tiempo con sus nuevos avisos si subsistiese la misma necesidad.

Este es en subst<sup>a</sup>. el acuerdo de la Junta, con que me conformé, y cuya resoluc<sup>on</sup>. mandé se pusiese en practica por mi Decreto de 19 del expresado Julio. Todo lo expuesto consta del adjunto Testimonio.

De resultas expedí mis mas estrechas ord<sup>s</sup>. para la pronta habilita<sup>on</sup>. en el P<sup>to</sup>. de Veracruz de dos Buques que p<sup>r</sup>. su porte y cala fuesen adecuados para la navegacion del Rio, bien fuesen de los Guarda-Costas de S.M, si se considerasen á proposito, de los del trafico de Campeche, ó de los del com<sup>o</sup>. de España.

Con respecto á esto dispuse enviar á la Luisiana 200 p<sup>s</sup>. en dinero, y la Artilleria, Armas, Pertrechos y Municion<sup>s</sup>. que constan de la adjunta Copia de la relacion formada de mi orden p<sup>r</sup>. este Com<sup>te</sup>. de Artill<sup>a</sup>. D<sup>n</sup>. Marcos Keating; y en quanto á Tropa solo hé tenido p<sup>r</sup>. conveniente que vayan un Cap<sup>n</sup>. un Subalterno y cinquenta hombres, no como auxilio, sino como Guarnicion de los dos Buques para mayor seguridad de los caudales y efectos de consideracion que hán de conducirse á su bordo.

Sin embargo de los riezos de la navegac<sup>on</sup>. en el presente tiempo de que va hecho merito, hubiera yo enviado algun num<sup>o</sup>. de Tropa á la Luisiana; pero he tocado en su practica mayores e inconvenientes.

En la actual estacion de las aguas son tan ordinarias las enfermedades en Veracruz que por lo regular ocupa los Hospitales una gran parte de su guarnicion; por ser gente que sobre cuidarse poco, carece de las comodidades precisas p<sup>a</sup>. conservar la salud; y por consiguiente seria embarazoso, y a un inutil enviar unos soldados debiles, y poco dispuestos para la fatiga.

Aun quando todo esto se venciese p<sup>r</sup>. estar aquella Tropa conaturalizada al Paiz, y con la robustéz necesaria, quedaría otra dificultad no de menos consideracion.

Seria preciso en tal caso tomar uno de dos partidos ó poner las Milicias sobre las Armas causando nuevos gastos al R<sup>l</sup>. Erario para guarnecer á Veracruz; ó hacer salir Tropa de esta Capital en un tiempo que con la freq<sup>a</sup>. de las aguas seria indispensable que al llegar á su destino fuese en derecho al Hospital la ma<sup>r</sup>. parte y otra no mui pequeña á la Sepultura como lo tiene acreditado la experiencia. Lo prim<sup>o</sup>. seria gravar considerablem<sup>te</sup>. esta R<sup>l</sup>. Hazienda que se halla con muchas atenciones sobre sí; y lo segundo lo resiste la humanidad.

Bien conosco que todas estas calamidades deben contarse entre los innumerables peligros de la Guerra; pero no creo que ahora nos hallémos en lance tan estrecho é inevitable; antes bien pienso que á la presente habrán cesado ya los motivos de cuidado, que me han obligado á hacer estas consideraciones con el arribo de Gardoqui á su destino, como queda asentado. Hé expuesto quanto me ocurre acerca de las dificultades que ofrece el envio de Tropa á la Luisiana en la ocasion presente: Voi á continuar el asunto de mi representacion.

Conseqüente á mis prevenciones quedaban ya en 28 del pasado mui adelantados en su apresto y habilitacion la Fraga<sup>ta</sup>. S<sup>n</sup>. Joseph el Venturoso y el Berg<sup>n</sup>. S<sup>n</sup>. Antonio, ambos Guardacostas de su Mag<sup>d</sup>. que son los Buques de que se ha hechado mano para la Exped<sup>on</sup>. al Nuevo-Orleans, segun me escriben el Gov<sup>or</sup>. y Of<sup>s</sup>. R<sup>s</sup>. de Veracruz

con la propia fha; y pienso que al recibo de mis ultimas ord<sup>s</sup>. que despacho hoi, no habrá dificult<sup>d</sup>. en que se hagan á la Vela immediatam<sup>te</sup>. p<sup>r</sup>. las activas y eficcazes provid<sup>as</sup>. que hán dictado aquellos Ministros.

Al Berg<sup>a</sup>. Galveztown que vino de la Luisiana con estas noticias, lo hé despachado á Filadelfia por su ligereza para dar aviso á aquel Encargado de negocios estos acaecim<sup>tos</sup>. dirigiendole para su Gov<sup>no</sup>. copias de las Cartas de Miró, y de la Junta celebrada en esta Cap<sup>l</sup>.

He prevenido á su Capitan D<sup>n</sup> Lorenzo Delvaux q<sup>e</sup>. al paso p<sup>r</sup>. la Hav<sup>a</sup>. dexé á la Vela sin entrar en el P<sup>to</sup>. un Pliego p<sup>a</sup>. aq<sup>l</sup>. Gov<sup>or</sup>. en q<sup>e</sup>. igualm<sup>te</sup>. le instruyo con copias de todo, de quanto ha ocurrido en el particular, p<sup>r</sup>. si de alli con menores noticias y proporcion<sup>s</sup>. pudiese auxiliar á la Luisiana en caso de pedirle socorro D<sup>n</sup>. Estevan Miró; y finalm<sup>te</sup>. hé dictado quantas provid<sup>as</sup>. me han sido posibles y exige el presente asunto, ya como Virrey de esta N.E. y yá como Cap<sup>n</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. de aquella Provincia necesitada: confiado en que todo cederá en obsequio del mejor servicio del Rey.

Espero que sean de la aprobacion de S.M. estas mis determinacion<sup>s</sup>. Sirvase V.E. ponerlo todo en su R<sup>l</sup>. noticia, y prevenirme lo que sea mas del Soberano agrado de S.M.<sup>es</sup>

Dios, etc. Mex<sup>co</sup> 2 de Ag<sup>to</sup>. de 1785.  
Exmo S<sup>r</sup>. D<sup>n</sup>. Josef de Galvez.

XLV. MIRÓ TO ARTURO O'NEILL, AUGUST 2, 1785.<sup>64</sup>

La de V.S. de 26 de Junio<sup>65</sup> me ha proporcionado la satisfaccion mas completa por la exactitud, y pronto celo con que concurre al mejor bien del servicio, y tranquilidad de esta Provincia. Aunque en la actualidad parecen las cosas algo calmadas devemos no dorminos, y aprovechar momentos para no ser sorprendidos como lo conocera V.S. mismo por la susinta exposicion que voy á hacerle de las ocurrencias succesivas en dicho puesto de Natchez.

Le dije á V.S. con fecha de 21 de Junio<sup>66</sup> habia llegado á aquel puesto Tomas Green que se presento al Comandante é intimandole que pues, que aquel Fuerte, y Distrito se hallaba dentro los limites del estado de Georgia se lo entregase, y habiendole respondido que no siendo de su competencia determinar un asunto de tanta entidad debia bajar á esta Capital á tratarlo conmigo ó esperar mi respuesta: prefirio lo ultimo, y entregó quatro copias de Documentos que dice tiene originales.

El 1<sup>o</sup>. comprende una deliberacion del Estado de Georgia en que establece los limites de toda su Provincia.<sup>67</sup>

El 2<sup>o</sup>. es otra deliberacion del mismo estado para formar en un distrito de tierra situada en el Misisipi un Condado que debe llamarse de Borbon, señalando sus limites desde la desembocadura del Yasú hasta encontrar bajando por el Misisipi los 31 grados latitud norte, y

<sup>65</sup> A subsequent letter (no. 150, August 27, *ibid.*) relates chiefly to the matter of forwarding the military supplies mentioned in this letter.

<sup>66</sup> Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba, Florida Occidental, legajo 11.

<sup>67</sup> O'Neill's letter of June 26 has not been found.

<sup>68</sup> Miró's letter of June 21 to O'Neill has not been found.

<sup>69</sup> The act of February 17, 1783, printed in Watkins, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, pp. 258-265, and in Marbury and Crawford, *Digest*, pp. 323-328. See *supra*, p. 68.

demarcando toda su extension en la que esta comprendido el Fuerte de Natchez y su Jurisdiccion.<sup>68</sup>

El tercero es parte de una Ynstruccion<sup>69</sup> dada al referido Tomas Green para pedir á los Comandantes Españoles los Fuertes, Lugares, y Plazas que puedan caer dentro de los limites del enunciado Condado.

El quarto es una carta del expresado comisionado al Comandante de Natchez para que evaque el Fuerte, ó haga sus objecciones.<sup>70</sup>

En este mismo tiempo tres de los habitantes de Natchez Pueblo naturalmente inquieto han convocado una Junta<sup>71</sup> publica y sediciosa cuyo principal objeto fue hacer yer á aquellos moradores que no les convenia sugetarse al Estado de Georgia, y que habia llegado el tiempo en que debian por si formar un Estado independiente.

El 22<sup>72</sup> del mismo mes de Junio llegó al expresado Puesto de Natchez en un barco Chacto<sup>73</sup> un Oficial Americano llamado Don Guillermo Davemport que se presentó á aqual Comandante diciendo que es el nombrado por el Estado de Georgia para demarcar los limites con el citado Green, y otros dos Oficiales que se hallan ya en la Nacion Chacta, el Mayor Don Nicolas Long y Don Nathaniel Crismas quienes se corresponde[n] con Davemport sin duda para convinar sus operaciones.<sup>74</sup> Todos deben obrar con los Oficiales que por nuestra parte se nombren. He respondido ambiguamente por dar tiempo, y tomarme las medidas necesarias.

El 27 del pasado llegó á aquel Fuerte la 2<sup>a</sup>. Compañia de Granaderos á las ordenes del sargento mayor Don Francisco Bouligny y mañana saldrá con el mismo destino la 1<sup>a</sup>. de Granaderos la que me ha proporcionado enviar los Piquetes<sup>75</sup> que Vm. me ha remitido preparandome yo mientras para subir, pues las noticias posteriores no me tranquilizan tanto como yo pensaba, respecto á que las primeras diligencias que ha hecho el mayor Bouligny, y de que me ha dado parte manifiestan que hay mucho que temer de la solapada, y sediciosa conducta del Comisario Davemport: En el Rio Cumberland se dice hay prontos barcos Chatos para bajar contra Natchez, y que en una palabra los Americanos estan determinados á apoderarse de dicho puesto por fuerza.<sup>76</sup> Rumores que confirman las Gazetas de Jamayca, y la Gaceta, ó Correo del Bajo Rin, que hablando sobre una conferencia entre el Conde de Aranda y el Doctor Franklin sobre la libre navegacion del Misisipi,<sup>77</sup> confesando el 2<sup>o</sup>. que la Ynglaterra no tubo ningun derecho, á ceder lo que no era

<sup>68</sup> The act of February 7, 1785, organizing Bourbon County, printed p. 70, *supra*.

<sup>69</sup> See p. 76, foot-note 45, *supra*. The instructions to the commissioners (February 11, 1785) are printed in full, pp. 71-73, *supra*.

<sup>70</sup> The letter of Green to Treviño, printed p. 76, *supra*.

<sup>71</sup> The manifesto of Ellis, Gaillard, and Banks, printed p. 77, *supra*.

<sup>72</sup> Davenport says in his letter of July 17 to Governor Elbert (p. 105, *supra*) that he arrived on the 24th.

<sup>73</sup> Barco chato.

<sup>74</sup> See Bouligny's letter to Miró, July 24, *ante*, p. 299, and Davenport's letter to Bouligny, July 31, *ante*, p. 311.

<sup>75</sup> Compare the letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, June 20, p. 93, *supra*.

<sup>76</sup> See Bouligny's letter of July 24 to Miró, *ante*, p. 299.

<sup>77</sup> The same extracts were inclosed to Josef de Galvez in letters nos. 97 and 98, July 22. See p. 108, foot-note 169, *supra*.

suyo, dice resueltamente que es menester dar salida á las producciones de los Habitantes Americanos, cuyas numerosas familias son un torrente á que es menester darle libre curso, pues de oponerle dique nos expondríamos á que pasará por encima, y tarde ó temprano nos destruyera con estripito.

Por todo lo expuesto conoce muy bien V.S. que recelos devemos tener, y de quanta importancia es estar preparado para cubrir de todo insulto los Dominios de S.M.

Volviendo ahora á la contextacion de dicho oficio participo á V.S. han llegado todos los Oficiales, y tropa cuya nota me incluyo V.S. y le doi mil gracias por la generosa oferta que me hace de entablar en caso de mayor urgencia una diversion sobre las fronteras de la Carolina, ó la Georgia, sobre cuyo particular avisare á V. S. en caso necesario.

Yncluyo á V.S. copia de la carta de M<sup>c</sup>.Guillebray,<sup>78</sup> á fin de que le pregunte de donde tubo noticias tan autenticas, y como parece por lo que ha escrito V.S. á Don Pedro Piernas, que le dijo ultimamente que no emprendian por ahora nada los Americanos, será útil que V.S. indague las circunstancias que le persuadieron primero á que íbamos á ser atacados, y las que le persuaden ahora á que no, á fin de comunicarmelas.

Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 2 de Agosto de 1785.

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

S<sup>r</sup>. Don Arturo O Neilly.<sup>79</sup>

XLVI. BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, AUGUST 4, 1785.<sup>80</sup>

*Mui Señor mio.*

En mi oficio N<sup>o</sup>. 9<sup>si</sup> hé dicho á V.S. que confiava tener del Doctor Fara, las mas detalladas noticias sobre el modo de pensar de estas gentes, y sobre lo que pasaba en el Oyo, como en efecto habiendo este comunicado con varios sugetos, y particularmente con su haijado<sup>82</sup> Francisco Brezino,<sup>83</sup> me ha dicho que todas las Provincias de America, y particularmente los sugetos que componen el Congreso, miran este Pais como la Principal y la mas importante de sus poseciones, sobre todo desde las orillas del Yasu hasta los 31 Grados, por haver en toda esta distancia tierras altas bañadas por el Misisipi, y que les facilita la extracion por agua de todos sus productos: Que por su mayor proximidad de la mar les dán con mucho la preferencia sobre las tierras del Yasu por arriva, las quales tienen á demas el inco[n]benientes de ser anegadizas, á una larga distancia del Misisipi, lo que les imposibilitaria la extracion de sus producciones: Que quando se vino á este Pais, al tiempo de despedirse

<sup>78</sup> Presumably the reference is to McGillivray's letter of May 16, p. 73, *supra*. Compare the letter of McGillivray to Zespedes, August 22, *post*, p. 326.

<sup>79</sup> The name is frequently given this form by the Spanish scribes. O'Neill was commandant of Pensacola from 1784 to 1792.

<sup>80</sup> Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis., y Flor., est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14. It is no. 16. A copy was inclosed in letter (no. 225) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, August 14 (*post*, p. 323) and is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

<sup>81</sup> July 30, *ante*, p. 308.

<sup>82</sup> Ahijado.

<sup>83</sup> See Bouligny to Miró, July 30, *ante*, p. 308.

del Presidente del Congreso Don Enrique Laurens, le ablo con el mayor entusiasmo de estas tierras, diciendole que no ambicionaba otra cosa que venir á acabar en ella sus dias, y que este mismo entusiasmo era general entre todas las gentes de mas suposicion de la Nueva Ynglaterra desde la Filadelfia acá; Que todos saben que este Pais por su extension, la calidad de sus tierras, y la facilidad de los transportes tiene en sí, y supera con mucha todas las ventajas que reunidas pueden tener las trece Provincias Americanas: Que el valor intrinseco de estas tierras si se pudiese evaluar excede con mucho á quantos los Americanos poseen sobre las orillas del Oceano: Que no hay cultivo para el qual no sean adecuadas Añil Tavaco, Maiz, Trigo, Algodón, Cañamo, y Lino, todo lo produce con mucha abundancia, y menos trabajo personal de los hombres que otro pais ninguno, Pastos inmensos, Maderas de construccion, mucho Alquitran, y Minas de Fierro á mano, salubridad del temperamento, y excelencia de las Aguas: Que este Pais lo miran los Americanos como la llave y verdadero centro de su dominacion, apoyandose sobre el titulo de cecion que de este territorio le hizo la Ynglaterra con la garantía de la Francia, y tacito consentimiento de la España, como consta por los tratados de Paz difinitivos, firmados en Paris, y en un mismo dia por las tres citadas Potencias: Que no créé que jamas la America consienta en desistirse de esta pretension, y mucho menos aun de la Navegacion del Rio: Que desde el mes de Noviembre del año pasado, salio un embiado de Filadelfia, para acer la formal demanda á la Corte de España, y otros dos tambien para la Corte de Ynglaterra, y Francia, con el mismo fin, figurandose que á la hora presente este punto estará ya decidido, y determinado: Añade el Doctor Fara que quando vino á este Pais hace como siete años, pasó por el Fuerte Pitt, donde hizo algunos dias de macion en casa del Gobernador,<sup>84</sup> de dicho Fuerte, y Distrito, con quien tenia antecedentes de amistad, y supo de él que la Poblacion de aquel Distrito hera ya en aquella epoca considerable, y en estado de poner diez y siete mil hombres sobre las armas, segun el calculo de las Milicias que le hizo ver: Que desde entonces acá ha sabido, y Brecino le ha confirmado, que esta Poblacion y otras que se han establecido en barrios Rios, que derraman en la Bella Rivera,<sup>85</sup> se han aumentado considerablemente: Que las Poblaciones de Cumberlan, Charaquis, Chut, Kitoches,<sup>86</sup> estan en estado hoy en dia de poner quarenta mil hombres sobre las armas: Que la causa principal de esta crecida Poblacion, y afluencia de gentes en aquel parage dimana de los muchos desertores de los Ejercitos que tuvo la Ynglaterra en las Provincias Maritimas, durante la guerra; de los soldados licenciados de los Estados Unidos á la Paz, á quienes há señalado el Congreso en donacion á cada uno doscientos Arpanes de tierra; De muchos Bagos y corredores de Bosques,<sup>87</sup> que se han refugiado alli de todas las Provincias de la America, particularmente de las Provincias acia acá de la Filadelfia, por la facilidad que de todas ellas tienen para hir á Cumberlan, en diez ó doce dias: De los derechos crecidos que cada Provincia se há

<sup>84</sup> Probably Brigadier-General Lachlan McIntosh, who was placed in command at Fort Pitt in May, 1778, succeeding General Edward Hand.

<sup>85</sup> The river Ohio. The name "Oyo" is oftener used in these documents.

<sup>86</sup> The settlements on the Cumberland (Nashville), on the Holston, at the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), and in central Kentucky.

<sup>87</sup> The more familiar *coureurs de bois*.

visto obligada á establecer para atender á sus urgencias, lo que há inducido á muchos havitantes á bender sus tierras y poseciones para irse á establecer al lado opuesto de las Montañas, que ellos llaman el Alegani, y nosotros llamamos Apalaches; Contribuyendo mas que todo á esta afluencia de gentes en dicho parage, una deliveracion de los Estados Unidos que deja libres los havitantes, y moradores sobre las orillas de Oyo, y Rios que en el derraman de todo derecho é imposicion: Que toda esta Poblacion desde seis años á esta parte se ha ocupado mucho en el cultivo, y há hecho cresidissimas cosecha[s] de Tavaco, y Trigo, que tiene depositadas en Almacenes co[n]siderables, y esperan con la mayor impaciencia que se les habra la puerta, para bajarlo todo por el Misisipi, unico Camino y salida por donde pueden extraerlo, pues por el lado de las Provincias Maritimas Americanas, los Montes Apalaches se lo impiden é imposibilitan: Que la deliveracion del Congreso señalando á cada Provincia los limites que creé tener derecho de darles, sobre las orillas del Misisipi, ha dado motivo á pensar á todos sus moradores como una cosa cierta, incontestable, su dominio en este territorio, con lo que se há aumentado el entusiasmo de la Nacion; y particularmente de los havitantes, y moradores del Oyo, que miran ya esto como su legitimo patrimonio, y acen continuas representaciones á los Estados Unidos para que se les de la posecion, ó se les permita henir á tomarla: Que brezino le ha dicho haver visto seis cañones de bronce de grueso calibre, mas abajo de la Chutt, que no estaban alli quando el Doctor Fara pasó, y que no pueden haver sido conducidos, sino de la parte superior de Ouabache, que toma su origen en las inmediaciones del Canada: Que ademas de esto save que en el Fuerte Pitt, hay como veinte cañones algunos de ellos de bronce del calibre de nueve libras, y algunos de Fierro de mayor calibre: Que segun le han dicho, en el puesto Vencenes inmediato tambien de las orillas del Ohio, hay igual numero de Cañones, y con corta diferencia de los mismos calibres: Que Brezino le há asegurado que quando él bajó con Davemport, no vio ni supo que se construisse ningun Chalan, ni Bato: Que por su parte esta persuadido firmemente que nadie se meneara, sin una orden expresa del Congreso, pues la Georgia, ni otra ninguna Provincia tiene facultad por si sola, y sin una orden expresa del Congreso de cometer la menor hostilidad, y finalmente que por lo que respecta á los havitantes de este territorio, con quienes há conferenciado ampliamente, me asegura que no se mesclarán en la mas minima cosa, y que todo estan firmemente resueltos, á esperar las resultas de lo que se decida en las respectivas Cortes, y en el interin ocuparse de sus cosechas de Tavaco, que en el dia ofrecen la mas favorable perspectiva.

Esta es la relacion que me há echo el Doctor Fara, á la que yo por mi parte me inclino á dar credito en muchas cosas, pareciendome solo exxagerado el crecido numero de gentes que supone ecsisten sobre las orillas del Oyo, V.S. podra questionarlo pues deve salir mañana para la Punta Cortada, donde solo se detendra dos dias, y bajará inmediatamente á esa, con animo de presentarse á V.S. para implorar su clemencia por su Suegro,<sup>88</sup> y demas complices, en la imprudente carta que escribieron á este Pueblo, haviendole asegurado yo, que allaria en V.S. toda

<sup>88</sup> Richard Ellis. See Rowland, *Mississippi*, I. 684, 698. "La imprudente carta" is document number VIII., p. 77, *supra*.



la bondad, y todo el favor posible, pues su enojo y rigor solo lo hacia sentir á los culpables mal intencionados.

Dios guarde á V.S. los muchos años que le deseo: Fuerte Panmure de Natchez 4 de Agosto de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento servidor y obediente subdito,  
FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

XLVII. BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, AUGUST 5, 1785.<sup>89</sup>

*Muy Señor mio:*

Adjunto incluyo á V.S. orijinal los quatro oficios<sup>90</sup> que he recibido de Don Guillermo Davemport, pareciendome mas regular efectivamente que estos Documentos existan en esa Secretaria, haviendo yo guardado las traducciones por lo que pueda ofrecer para la contestacion de los Oficios subcesibos.

Dios guarde á V.S. los muchos años que le deseo. Fuerte Panmure de Natchez 5 de Agosto de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento servidor y subdito.  
FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.

S<sup>or</sup>. Don Estevan Miró.

XLVIII. BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, AUGUST 10, 1785.<sup>91</sup>

*Muy Señor mio:*

Contesto á los dos oficios<sup>92</sup> de V.S. con fecha de 19 de Julio sobre examinar y averiguar lo que pasó en el combite que dio el habitante Job Corris, á M<sup>r</sup>. Davemport, y la orden que en consecuencia me da V.S. de arrestar dicho Davemport, si resultase criminal.

Las dificultades que ofrecia esta [a]veriguacion, el inconveniente de dar este paso sin sacar nada en limpio, como podria muy bien succeder y en parte á succedido con Gaillard, Ellis, y Soton Bankes, los terminos de una regular conducta, correspondencia y contestacion en que se ha puesto Davemport, como V.S. habra visto por los Documentos remitidos, desde, que empese este metodo: el sobre salto é inquietud que ocasionaria en toda esta Poblacion, una averiguacion de esa naturaleza, tanto en los culpables, si los ha habido, como en los inocentes; y mas que todo la facultad que V.S. me dá de sufocar este asunto me inclinan habida atencion á todos los antecedentes, y no darme por entendido de un asunto que veo enteramente enfriado:<sup>93</sup> confiando que la conducta que he tenido y el rigor que he aparentado (desde mi llegada aqui) usaria subitamente con el primero que se atreviese á deslínearse en la mas minima cosa, los contendrá en los limites del respecto que deben á la autoridad, ocupandose tranquilamente de sus labores, á lo que no ha contribuido poco tambien el proceso que he hecho á Gaillard, haviendo pintado con las mas vivos colores á los testigos, y otros sugetos, el

<sup>89</sup> Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. This is no. 18.

<sup>90</sup> Davenport's letters of July 25, 28, 30, 31, *ante*, pp. 303, 306, 310, 311.

<sup>91</sup> Inclosed in letter (no. 249) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, November 10, *post*, p. 343. It is marked "No. 2. Copia No. 33".

<sup>92</sup> The second and third letters, numbers XXV. and XXVI., pp. 106, 107, *supra*.

<sup>93</sup> Compare Miró's letters of July 19 to Bouligny, pp. 106-107, *supra*, and see his letter of November 10 (number LXIX. of these documents), *post*, p. 346.



crimen enorme en que incurrian y rigor con que seria tratado el primero que en puntos de esta entidad cometiera la menor falta.<sup>94</sup>

Dios guarde á V.S. los muchos años que deseo. Fuerte Panmure de Natchez 10 de Agosto de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento seguro serbidor y subdito,

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.<sup>95</sup>

Señor Don Estevan Miró

XLIX. MIRÓ TO THE CONDE DE GALVEZ, AUGUST 14, 1785.<sup>96</sup>

*Exmo. Señor*

*Muy Señor mio:*

Don Francisco Bouligny llegó el veinte y cuatro<sup>97</sup> de Julio á Natchez, desde cuyo dia hasta el cinco del presente me ha escrito diez y nueve oficios los mas concernientes al asunto que en el dia interesa sobre si será aquel Fuerte atacado ó no por los Americanos. De todos resulta lo que V.E. verá en la adjunta copia<sup>98</sup> que me ha parecido indispensable incluir á V.E. y por lo que toca á lo que los demás comprenden relacionaré solo lo que sea digno de la atencion de V.E.

Francisco Brescina, de quien se tienen las noticias que refiere la expresada copia, ha venido con Don Guillermo Dawenport con el designio de acojerse en casa del Doctor Farar americano vecino de la Punta Cortada siete años hace, y de los mas ricos de la Provincia, á quien mira como su bien hechor, y Padre, por lo que no es de creer haya dejado de decirle en todo la verdad.

Así de su relacion como de las demas noticias que ha adquirido Don Francisco Bouligny resulta que el Estado de Georgia ha dado los extraordinarios pasos de enviar comisionados con las circunstancias que tengo participado á V.E. persuadidos á que no hallarian oposicion ninguna por nuestra parte, sin haber por lo tanto hecho ningunas prevenciones hostiles, siendo manifestamente falso que haya tropas apostadas en el Ohio, ni en marcha por lo interior de las tierras.

Sin embargo, han participado algunos Yndios que en el dia estan trescientos hombres en los Rios Cheraqui y Cumberland construyendo Lanchanes y barcos chatos, por lo que Don Francisco Bouligny ha enviado á reconocer dichos Rios primeramente á un Yngles Realista<sup>99</sup> vecino de Natchez, y después á un Frances con un Gefe Chactá y seis guerreros que se ofrecieron á ello, debiendo segun las noticias interesantes que adquiriera despachar uno de ellos sucesivamente con cartas para participarlos, lo que le he aprobado.

Por lo que toca al Estado de fermentación del Distrito ha cesado toda inquietud, hallandose en el dia en la mayor tranquilidad, mani-

<sup>94</sup> With regard to Banks, Ellis, and Gaillard, see the letter of Long, Davenport, and Christmas to Governor Elbert, September 13, *post*, p. 335.

<sup>95</sup> There is a long letter from Bouligny to Miró written on the following day (August 11), chiefly concerning the defenses of Natchez. It is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.* It is marked "Número doscientos veinte y cinco".

<sup>97</sup> Bouligny says in his letter of July 24 (*ante*, p. 299) that he arrived the day before.

<sup>98</sup> Bouligny's letter of August 4, *ante*, p. 319.

<sup>99</sup> Stephen Hayward. See Bouligny's letter of July 24, *ante*, p. 299, and his letter of August 28, *post*, p. 326.

festando en sus conversaciones aquellos habitantes que no quieren pensar en otra cosa mas que en sus cosechas, buen efecto que ha producido el Vando<sup>100</sup> de que acompaño copia la llegada de Don Francisco Bouligny con la segunda compañía de granaderos, y la prision de Gaillard, Ellis, y Sutton Banks cuyo proceso me ha remitido el referido sargento mayor el cual no resultan tan criminales: como aparentaba su carta convocatoria, y V.E. verá cuando lo remita en primera ocasion por hallarse en el dia en manos del auditor, y no haber tiempo de copiarlo.<sup>101</sup>

Aunque no habia recibido Bouligny mis oficios<sup>102</sup> para formar cargos á Don Guillermo Davenport, y habitantes del convite de casa de Broens,<sup>103</sup> comprendo por lo que me escribe, que no tuvo consecuencia alguna lo alli actuado, ó que no seria en los términos que fué participado á Don Felipe Treviño el mismo Davenport se ha portado despues con mucha moderacion habiendo prometido ultimamente por escrito á Don Francisco Bouligny bajar á esta capital con los otros dos comisionados, luego que lleguen.

En vista de todo he suspendido mi marcha,<sup>104</sup> continuando solamente poner en Estado la Galera que se hallaba en la Valiza y se carena actualmente estando corrientes un Lanchón y dos Lanchas cañoneras, y todo el tren de cartucheria, cureñage y demás pertrechos, que en mi oficio numero ciento treinta y tres participe V.E. iba á preparar, habiendo cercenado la compra del cuarto cañonero, para evitar este gasto á la Real Hacienda; pues á pocos dias podré á una forzosa habilitarlo, estando asi pronto á subir siempre que haya novedad que lo exija, ó V.E. me lo ordene, persuadido á que es inevitable la guerra, en cuyo caso cuanto mas antes lo ejecute será mejor para poder fortificarme en la posicion ventajosa que está á media legua del Fuerte de Natchez, y conserva la proteccion del Rio lo que aquel no hace, circunstancia digna de la mayor atencion, por lo que cubre lo restante de la Provincia hacia abajo.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años. Nueva Orleans catorce de Agosto de mil setecientos ochenta y cinco.

Exñño Señor,

B.L.M. de V.E. su mas atento servidor,

ESTEBAN MIRÓ.

Exñño Señor Conde de Galvez.

L. BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, AUGUST 17, 1785.<sup>105</sup>

*Mui Señor mio:*

Ayer puso á mi noticia Don Guillermo Davenport, que Don Nicolas Long, uno de los compañeros que esperaba, havia emprendido su marcha para ir á la Nacion de los Chiz,<sup>106</sup> á unirse con Don Nataniel Chrismas,

<sup>100</sup> See p. 95, foot-note 109, *supra*.

<sup>101</sup> Probably the letter (no. 8) mentioned in Bouligny's letter of July 30 to Miró, *ante*, p. 308.

<sup>102</sup> The letters to Bouligny, July 19 (numbers XXV. and XXVI.), pp. 106, 107, *supra*.

<sup>103</sup> This should be Brocas. With regard to the affair at the house of William Brocas, see especially numbers VIII., X., and XI. of these documents, pp. 77, 82, 85, *supra*.

<sup>104</sup> Miró had planned to lead his forces in person to withstand the supposed invasion. See his letters to the Conde de Galvez, June 14 and 20, and to Josef de Galvez, June 25, pp. 78, 91, 95, *supra*.

<sup>105</sup> Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. It is no. 40.

<sup>106</sup> The Chickasaws.

y como la carta escrita por Tomas Green á su hijo,<sup>107</sup> y de que tengo dado noticia á V.S. anteriormente, le dava parte que se iba igualmente á unirse con el citado Christmas, estos dos hechos me dan motivo á pensar que esta union es premeditada para resolver lo que tienen que hacer en las actuales circunstancias. Tambien me ha noticiado el referido Davemport, haver recibido aviso que el dia veinte de Mayo se hallaban juntos en Charlestown tres Comisarios nombrados por el congreso,<sup>108</sup> y dos sugetos de la primera consideracion, uno de la Carolina del Sud, y el otro de la Carolina del Norte, y que todos los cinco estaban proximos á emprender su marcha para la nacion Crick, á fin de arreglar, y componer una diferencia que esta Nacion tenia con el Estado de la Georgia, sobre las tierras regadas por el Rio Okony, y cuyos embiados iban en consecuencia de una carta amistosa y suplicatoria escrita por Alejandro Mac. Guillvray, Gefe de dicha Nacion á dicho Estado, y en la que se humiliaba pidiendo perdon de haverseles opuesto anteriormente en el establecimiento que havian empezado á hacer los Georgianos sobre el dicho Rio Okony.<sup>109</sup>

Esta noticia aun quando sea cierta por lo que respecta á los Comisarios, no me parece verosimil en la carta que supone haver escrito Mac. Guillvray al Estado de la Georgia; pues haviendo dicho Mac. Guillvray escrito á V.S. en el mes de Abril, ó Mayo<sup>110</sup> si bien me acuerdo una carta manifestando un modo de pensar mui distinto del que supone Davemport, no es creible haya en este mismo tiempo con corta diferencia escrito en esos terminos á la Georgia á menos que no sea un hombre de una doble intencion y que me parece seria muy combeniente averiguar.

Una carta que por casualidad ha llegado á mi noticia escrita por el citado Mac. Guillvray en el mes de Junio del año pasado prueba el teson y la firmesa con que el y su Nacion pretende impedir el establecimiento de los Georgianos en las riberas Okony, y que traducida dice asi.<sup>111</sup>

Esta carta que me ha traducida M<sup>r</sup>. Duforest, de una gazeta Ynglesa que le ha entregado M<sup>r</sup>. Hutchins<sup>112</sup> me ha parecido mui necesario

<sup>107</sup> No other reference to this letter from Thomas Green to his son has been found.

<sup>108</sup> On March 21 Congress appointed Benjamin Hawkins, Daniel Carroll, William Perry, Andrew Pickens, and Joseph Martin commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the southern Indians. Carroll declined and Lachlan McIntosh was chosen in his stead (May 16). These commissioners with the exception of Perry met at Hopewell in South Carolina and negotiated a series of treaties. William Blount was present as agent for North Carolina and John King and Thomas Glascock for the state of Georgia. About the same time the state of Georgia negotiated a separate treaty with the Indians at Galphinton. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, April 17, 1786, and *Amer. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I., especially pp. 38-44.

<sup>109</sup> Much material concerning McGillivray and the Indians during the years succeeding 1785 is in the Spanish archives at Seville.

<sup>110</sup> Probably the letter of May 16, p. 73, *supra*. Compare McGillivray's letter of August 22, *post*, p. 326.

<sup>111</sup> As this letter of McGillivray does not relate directly to Bourbon County it is here omitted.

<sup>112</sup> Anthony Hutchins. An account of him is in Rowland, *Mississippi*, I. 911-914.

ponerla en noticia de V.S. por si halla combeniente avisarlo al Governador de Panzacola, para que este á la mira de lo que se trate por dichos Comisarios en el particular con el citado Mac Guillvray.

Dios guarde á V.S. los muchos años que deseo. Fuerte Pannure de Natchez 17 de Agosto de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento servidor y Subdito,

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.

Señor Don Esteban Miro.

P.D.

Las dos personas de consideracion que devian salir de Charles-town, mencionados en este oficio, son el uno el General Benjamin Pickins, de la Carolina del Norte; y el otro el Coronel Benjamin hawkins de la Carolina del Sud.<sup>113</sup>

LI. MCGILLIVRAY TO ZESPEDES.<sup>114</sup>

LITTLE TALLASSIE 22d August 1785

*Sir*

I have the honor of acknowledgeing the receipt of your Excellencys most esteemd favor of 13th. June. the letters enclosed for Governor ONeil and Colo. Piernass were delivered to the former the latter is at Orleans, Commanding in absence of Governor Miro who is gone to the Natchez to regulate Some Matters,<sup>115</sup> a great many Troops having arrived, and gone up that river.

The reports your Excellency has heard Concerning the Americans are not founded in Truth although they are proceeding in great Numbers to the Mississippi, with an Intent to establish themselves upon the Territory, as given them by the Treaty of Peace, between Brittain and the States of America, but as Yet no hostilities have Commenced between any forces on the river. Nor is there any Post on the Cherokee river, tho a Very proper place for one at the Mouth of it where it Joins the Mississippi. The americans will Certainly attempt to establish a new State in that Country, at the risque of a war. the authority of Congress is but weak even in the heart of the States and those that are Settled at the distance of five or Six hundred miles from the Seat of Government despise its Mandates. . . .

That your Excellency may enjoy many years of Health and happiness is the Sincere wishes of

Sir, your Excellencys Most Obedient Servant

ALEX: MCGILLIVRAY.

His Excellency Governor DeZespedes

LII. BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, AUGUST 28, 1785.<sup>116</sup>

*Mui Señor mio:*

Ayer p<sup>r</sup>. la mañana vino D<sup>n</sup>. Guillermo Davenport, con sus dos com-

<sup>113</sup> Andrew Pickens of South Carolina and Benjamin Hawkins of North Carolina.

<sup>114</sup> Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, CXIV., J 9.

<sup>115</sup> See *ante*, p. 324, and foot-note 104.

<sup>116</sup> After the first installment of this material had appeared it was learned that several documents (originals and copies) relating to Bourbon County are in the Hubert Howe Bancroft Library, at the University of California. For copies of this letter of Bouligny to Miró (no. 44) and other letters, as mentioned hereafter, we are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. F. J. Teggart, curator of that library.

pañeros D<sup>a</sup>. Nicolas Long y D<sup>a</sup>. Nataniel Chrismas, á quienes hé recibido con la maior urbanidad, haviendolos detenido á comer, esmerandome en obsequiarlos, no se á tratado punto ninguno, pero Davenport me ha dicho que el Lunes empesarían á pasarme los oficios correspondientes sobre su venida y comision. Me han dicho que Tomas Green, havia venido con ellos, y se havia quedado enfermo en su Havitacion.<sup>117</sup> la diferencia que manifiestan tener por D<sup>a</sup>. Nicolas Long, me hace creer que este sujeto es entre ellos el que tiene mas concepto, y por cuyos consejos se gobierna todo, es mozo Joven, pero de un aspecto serio y formal, y por algunas expreciones que ha dicho á D<sup>a</sup>. Estevan Minor, en cuya casa ha ido á vivir parece desaprueba en algo la conducta de Davenport, haviendose manifestado que no vienen aqui para darnos motivo al menor sentimiento, ni causarnos la menor inquietud.

Oy con el motivo de dár un combite á varias Damas del distrito, de las Establecidas en el Bayu Santa Catalina y á M<sup>a</sup>. Hutchins,<sup>118</sup> ha combidado tambien á la muger de Davenport, á este y sus dos compañeros, de los quales solo ha venido D<sup>a</sup>. Nicolas Long, los otros dos haviendome hecho decir, que se hallaban indispuestos.

He sabido por el citado Long, compañero de D<sup>a</sup>. Guillermo Davenport, que el dia antes de salir de la nacion Chiz, se havia presentado alli el nombrado Estevan Haiward,<sup>119</sup> que llevaba encargo de D<sup>a</sup>. Felipe Treviño, de reclamar dos negros, y un cavallo que havian sido robados aqui ultimamente á D<sup>a</sup>. Estevan Minor, el nombrado Fran<sup>co</sup>. Routh, amigo del citado Haiward, se personó para tomar los negros que estaban en poder de Jonnes, q<sup>e</sup> havia sido el robador. pero un compañero de Jonnes salio á la demanda de su amigo, y tiró un balazo al citado Routh, y lo dejó muerto. este subceso ocasionó muchos debates en la nacion, particularmente entre los vagabundos, y Foragidos, pero lo que causó mas rumor fue una harenga hecha por el mestizo Glover<sup>120</sup> de nacion Chiz quien se puso á perorar toda la nacion á favor del asasiño, diciendo que no devian sufrir que nadie fuese osado á venir á insultar á los que reclamavan azilo y proteccion, disputa que se havia ensendido mucho, y estava aun indesisa quando el se vino. con este motivo se ha explayado el citado Long, que me parece sujeto de Juicio y reflexion, diciendome que el numero de vagos que ay tanto en la nacion Chiz, como en la Chacta es considerable, y merecen mucha atencion, tanto de parte de los Americanos como de la nuestra, que la mayor parte de estos sujetos son naturales de la America, y que han incurrido en crímenes dignos de la horca. que en el dia exeden el numero de quinientos hombres, amanzebados todos con las Indias poseiendo el idioma, y que tienen mucha influencia en las citadas naciones, y son capaces de inducidarlas en muchos desasiertos. me ha manifestado tambien con quanto gusto la America adaptaria un plan de acuerdo con la España que pudiese obviar á los daños que estos hombres ocasionan á los establecimientos, tanto de los Americanos como de los Españoles. persuadiendose que si se podria conseguir sacar esos quinientos hombres

<sup>117</sup> If this statement is true Green must have remained very quiet in his house during the negotiations of the next three days and then once more departed precipitately for the Chickasaw country. See *supra*, p. 91, foot-note 88, and p. 105.

<sup>118</sup> Mrs. Anthony Hutchins. See foot-note 112.

<sup>119</sup> See Boulogny's letter to Miró, July 24. *ante*, p. 299.

<sup>120</sup> Doubtless William Glover. See a letter from him in *Amer. State Papers, Pub. Lands*, I. 456.

de ay,<sup>121</sup> y ponerlos en parage donde no pudiesen nunca bolver, se mantendrian quietas las naciones, y no darian nada que sentir, ni á sus establecimientos, ni á los nuestros, opinion que me parece mui fundada en razon y Justicia y créo seria combeniente adaptar y apoyar con la superioridad, si la discucion de los Americanos sobre este territorio se compone amigablemente, como no me queda duda.<sup>122</sup>

Esta combersacion familiar que he tenido con el citado Long, antes de comer á dado campo al asunto principal de su comision q°. es la pretencion de la America sobre este territorio, y reserbandose de hablarme de oficio, por cartas quando hubiera consultado con sus compañeros, me ha dicho q°. sentia infinito los rumores que se havian esparcido en este distrito, y que me asegurava vajo su palabra de honor que no havia pensado la America, ni pensaria jamas cometer contra la España la menor ostilidad, que fuera de esto emplearia todos los medios posibles para obtener este territorio de la España, por q°. se veian en tal situacion que les éra imposible pasarse de el, y que sabe y le consta, que no ay sacrificio que no haga la America para obtenerlo de S.M.C. y para cuya solicitud confian mucho con la mediacion de la Francia. Toda su combersacion sobre este asunto se ha dirigido á darme á entender que no ay tesoros que la America no sacrifique p°. obtener este Paiz, pero que nunca la America empleara otros medios que los de la persuacion, y mediacion de las otras potencias, cuyo modo de pensar siendo tan natural y devido, mé inclino á creer que por haora es el mismo que tienen los sujetos que componen el congreso de los Estados Unidos.

Por varias otras expreciones del citado Long y por lo que varios me han dicho de Crismas, parece que el modo de pensar de estos dos sujetos, es mui distinto del de Green, y Davenport, y si continuan á hablar como han hecho hasta haora afirmarán en lugar de alterar la tranquilidad que reyna en el distrito.

Por lo que he sacado de la combersacion de estos dos sujetos parece que han sido comisionados especialmente á observar y reconocer todas las tierras que en direccion de los 37. grados se internan acia el norte. Long particularm°. parece haverse ocupado mucho de este objeto, hace muchos elogios de todas esas tierras, y sobre todo las en que havitan los Chactas, cuyos rios, Bayues, y derrames dán mucha facilidad para la conduccion de sus producciones por agua hasta la orilla del Mar me han dicho que me presentarian tres sujetos que han venido con ellos dos que son sus criados, y el otro que solo viene con ellos p°. despacharlo inmediatamente al General de la Georgia. sin duda con planos ó detalladas discripciones de los paizes que han observado en su viaje, y que me persuado á sido el objeto principal que se les ha encargado. Long me ha tocado en la combersacion que las dos Carolinas y la Virginia havian logrado que los Indios que estas provincias tienen á sus espaldas abandonasen la caza y se dedicasen al cultivo de las tierras. Sin duda la Georgia tendra igual proyecto, y los sujetos que han sido embiados á

<sup>121</sup> Ahí.

<sup>122</sup> On August 22 Bouligny wrote a long letter to Miró describing conditions in the Natchez district and proposing as a remedy for the evils the organization of the citizens into companies of cavalry. Among the prominent persons whose names are suggested for the offices in this proposed militia are found even the sons of Thomas Green. The letter is in the Hubert Howe Bancroft Library.



Mac Guillwray, como he dicho a V.S. en mi carta n°. 40.<sup>123</sup> havran ido con este fin.

El citado D<sup>n</sup>. Nicolas Long me ha manifestado que por su parte tendria mucha satisfaccion en baxar á la Nueva Orleans. pero Mainer,<sup>124</sup> me ha dicho que no crée que esto se verifique por que ha oydo hablar á los demas apoyandose siempre que sus ordenes particulares, los ciñen á mantenerse y no salir de los limites de los 37 Grados.<sup>125</sup>

Dios Guarde a V.S. los m°. a°. que deseo. Fuerte Panmure de Natchez 28 de Agosto de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. Su mas atento y humilde Servidor  
FRAN<sup>co</sup>. BOULIGNY.

S<sup>r</sup>. D<sup>n</sup>. Estevan Miró

LIII. NICHOLAS LONG AND NATHANIEL CHRISTMAS TO BOULIGNY.<sup>126</sup>

AMITY HALL 29<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1785

*Sir*

Having this evening the Honor of perusing your letters, to our Colleague W<sup>m</sup>. Davenport Esq<sup>r</sup>. also his to you, we find the Nature of our business hither sufficiently explained. If there be any particular points on which your Honor desires more full descriptions you will please to signify it in your next, and we shall take a pleasure in giving you what information, is in our power as Commissioners Nominated by an Act of the Hon<sup>ble</sup>. General Assembly of the State of Georgia for the purposes heretofore explained:

We beg leave to observe to your Honor that as our Commission, includes us conjunctly it would be more systematical that all future letters (with which you may honor us) should be directed to the Commissioners Jointly.

We have the honor to be with Sentiments of Esteem  
Y<sup>r</sup>. Hble Serv<sup>ts</sup>.

N. LONG.

N. CHRISTMAS.

Francis Bouleny Com<sup>dt</sup>.  
Civil and Military  
Natchez

LIV. BOULIGNY TO LONG AND CHRISTMAS, AUGUST 29, 1785.<sup>127</sup>

*Mui Señores mios:*

He visto por la carta de Vm°. con Fha de oy que están enterados de la correspondencia q°. D<sup>n</sup>. Guillermo Davenport, ha tenido con migo,

<sup>123</sup> August 17, *ante*, p. 324.

<sup>124</sup> In his letter of July 30 to Miró (*ante*, p. 308) Bouigny mentions a person named Maisner as carrying messages for him. It is possible that in both cases it is a slip of the pen for Minor.

<sup>125</sup> The figures 37 in this and the preceding paragraph are evidently errors for 31. See, however, the instructions, p. 71, *supra*, and *cf.* the statement of Davenport in his letter of July 30 to Bouigny, *ante*, p. 310, and Bouigny's statement (letter to Miró, July 25), *ante*, p. 304.

<sup>126</sup> Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". The letter is marked "A true copy N°. 1".

<sup>127</sup> The original is in the Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785", accompanied by a translation. The letter is marked on the wrapper "N°. 1".



por esta havrán Vm<sup>s</sup>. sabido las razones que me movieron á desear que el citado D<sup>n</sup>. Guillermo Davenport, baxase á presentarse al Señor Gobernador de esta Provincia, y la esperanza que en su ultima carta me dio que á la llegada de Vm<sup>s</sup>. se verificaria, me ha hecho detener, aqui un Bató que con toda comodidad podrá conducirles á Vm<sup>s</sup>. á la Nueva Orleans, residencia del Gefé que deve tomar conosimiento de los documentos que á Vm<sup>s</sup>. autorizan, y contextar á sus demandas; como me persuado que en esto no tendrán Vm<sup>s</sup>. dificultad y que de ello resultará una mutua satisfaccion y mas facilidad para la pronta expedicion de todos los asuntos, me alegraria que Vm<sup>s</sup>. comprendiesen ese viaje co[n] la posible brevedad.

Dios Gñe a Vm<sup>s</sup>. m<sup>s</sup>. a<sup>s</sup>. Fuerte Panmure de Natchez 29 de Agosto de 1785.

B L M de vmds. Su mas Seguro Servidor

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. BOULIGNY.

S<sup>or</sup>. D<sup>n</sup>. Nicolas Long, y D<sup>n</sup>. Nataniel Christmas

[Addressed:]

A los S<sup>res</sup>. Comisarios de la Asamblea General del Estado de la Georgia,  
Natchez.

LV. BOULIGNY TO LONG, DAVENPORT, AND CHRISTMAS,

SEPTEMBER 1, 1785.<sup>128</sup>

*Mui Señores mios:*

He recibido la carta que Vm<sup>s</sup>. me han hecho el honor de escrivirme con Fha de ayer<sup>129</sup> que remitire con la posible brevedad al Señor Gobernador de esta Provincia, quien contextara á su contenido, y pareciendome preciso que dicha carta vaya acompañada con los Documentos originales que autorizan a Vm<sup>s</sup>. (pues que no hallan por combeniente baxar a presentarlos) pueden Vm<sup>s</sup>. entregarmelos que yo los dirijire con la misma ocacion.

Dios Gñe a Vm<sup>s</sup>. m<sup>s</sup>. a<sup>s</sup>. Fuerte Panmure de Natchez 1<sup>o</sup>. de Seprẽ de 1785.

B L M de vmd<sup>s</sup>. Su mas Seguro y atento Servidor

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. BOULIGNY.

A los Srẽs D<sup>n</sup>. Nicolas Long  
D<sup>n</sup>. Guillermo Davenport  
D<sup>n</sup>. Nataniel Christmas

[Addressed:]

A los Señores Comisarios de la honrrada Asamblea General de estado de la Georgia,  
Natchez.

LVI. LONG, DAVENPORT, AND CHRISTMAS TO BOULIGNY.<sup>130</sup>

AMITY HALL 1<sup>ta</sup>. Sep<sup>t</sup>. 1785

*Sir*

We have the honor of Inclosing you a true copy of the authority under which we Act.

<sup>128</sup> In the Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785", accompanied by translation. It is marked "N<sup>o</sup>. 2".

<sup>129</sup> The commissioners' letter of August 31 is missing.

<sup>130</sup> Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". It is marked "A true copy N<sup>o</sup>. 3".

The originals we hope you will pardon us for detaining, as by them alone we are secured in our transactions on this Business. Wm. Davenport Esq<sup>r</sup>. waits on you with them we hope your honor will suffer them to be examined and attested in your presence in order that no doubt may arise with Gov<sup>r</sup>. Miro, concerning their Authority he also brings you the different treaties, and other papers which respect our Boundaries. We flatter ourselves your honor will have a Minute taken of them that thereby he may with more ease have reference to them.

It's those papers we refered you to, of yesterdays date,<sup>131</sup> seeing an opportunity of sending immediately to his Excellency, offers itself, we cannot decline dropping a sentiment, more on the subject of that letter.

In the Treaty with his Brittanic Majesty dated September 1783 his most Catholick Majesty signs and ratifies the definitive articles of peace agreed on between the Plenipotentiary, and his Plenipotentiary Don Pedro Count of Aranda etc., etc., in which the Floridas are confirmed to the Crown, and the established limits of West Florida is well known to extend no further than the thirty first degree of Latitude. We therefore doubt not but that his Excellency Governor Miro whom we conclude to be vested with every Authority from his Majesty that may be Necessary for Amicably settling this matter, will after perusing the letters of our correspondence, the Credentials inclosed, and after having referance to the different Treaties issue his directions for the giving us immediate possession of the County of Bourbon agreeable to the expectation of the State, her just right, and the Boundaries of it prescribed by the Laws of her Legislature here with furnished.

We have the Honor to be Sir with much esteem

Y<sup>r</sup>. Hble Serv<sup>ts</sup>.

N. LONG.

WM. DAVENPORT.

N. CHRISTMAS.

D<sup>n</sup>. Francis Bouleny Com<sup>dt</sup>.  
Civil and Military Natchez

LVII. BOULIGNY TO LONG, DAVENPORT, AND CHRISTMAS, SEPTEMBER  
2, 1785.<sup>132</sup>

*Mui Señores míos:*

He recibido las dos cartas<sup>133</sup> que con Fha de 1<sup>o</sup>. y 2. del corriente me han hecho Vm<sup>s</sup>. el honor de escribirme, Juntamente con los documentos inclusos todo lo que dirigire al Señor D<sup>n</sup>. Estevan Miró, Governador General de esta Provincia en primera ocaion.

Dios Guarde a Vm<sup>s</sup>. muchos años. Fuerte Panmure de Natchez 2 de Setiembre de 1785.

B L M de vmd<sup>s</sup>. Su mas atento y Seguro Servidor

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. BOULIGNY.

D<sup>n</sup>. Nicolas Long  
A los S<sup>tes</sup> D<sup>n</sup>. Guillermo Davenport  
D<sup>n</sup>. Nataniel Chrismas

<sup>131</sup> See foot-note 129.

<sup>132</sup> Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785", accompanied by translation dated September 3.

<sup>133</sup> The reference is apparently to the letters of August 31 (missing) and September 1.

LVIII. MIRÓ TO THE CONDE DE GALVEZ, SEPTEMBER 5, 1785.<sup>184</sup>

*Muy Señor mio:*

El teniente Coronel Don Francisco Bouligny, Comandante de Natchez, con fecha de 24 de Agosto<sup>185</sup> último, me participa haber llegado allí Don Nicolás Long, y Don Nathaniel Christmas, los dos Comisarios por el estado de Georgia, que esperaba D<sup>na</sup>. Guillermo Davenport, y los tres le han pasado quatro oficios que se reducen á manifestar al referido Don Francisco Bouligny los documentos originales, que son los mismos, cuyas copias tengo remitido á V. E. con mis oficios números 199 y 210, habiendo solo uno de los expresados ido á entregárselos, para que en su presencia los examinase y cotexase las copias autorizadas que le dexaron y quedan en mi poder, concluyendo con pedirle me los envíe, y reclamando el mencionado Distrito en los terminos siguientes:

"En el Tratado con Su Magestad Británica, con fecha de Setiembre de 1783, Su Magestad Católica firma y ratifica los Artículos del tratado definitivo convenido y acordado entre el Plenipotenciario de Su Magestad Británica, y su Plenipotenciario Don Pedro Conde de Aranda, etc. etc., en cuyos Artículos las dos Floridas están confirmadas á la Corona de España, y los límites establecidos de la Florida occidental son bien conocidos, por no estenderse más allá del lado del Norte, que hasta los 31 grados de latitud, razón por la qual no dudamos que Su Excelencia el Gobernador Miró que miramos revestido con toda la autoridad necesaria de Su Magestad, para arreglar amigablemente este asunto, enviará (después de lectura de nuestra correspondencia de los documentos adjuntos que nos autorizan, y después de haber examinado los diferentes tratados) sus correspondientes órdenes, para que se nos dé inmediatamente posesión del Condado de Borbón, conforme á la expectativa de nuestro estado, su justo derecho, y los límites que le han sido prescritos por la Ley de la Legislación inclusa adjunta."<sup>186</sup>

A los citados quatro oficios he respondido como V. E. verá en la adjunta copia,<sup>187</sup> deseando sea de la aprobación de V. E.

Me participa Don Francisco Bouligni que Don Nicolás Long, á quien parece tienen alguna deferencia los demás, es sujeto aunque joven muy moderado, manifestando en sus conversaciones estar muy lexos el estado de Georgia de ser su animo prepararse á ninguna hostilidad, confiados, sin embargo, se les entregará el territorio que pretenden, porque se veían en tal situación que les era imposible pasarse de él, y que sabe y le consta que no hay sacrificio que no haga la America, para obtenerlo de Su Magestad Católica, y para cuya solicitud confían mucho con la mediación de la Francia.

Natchez se mantiene en la mayor tranquilidad, no habiendo llegado á los oídos del Comandante la más mínima conversación que pueda dar cuidado.

<sup>184</sup> This letter (no. 230, marked "Copia"), inclosed in letter (no. 103) of Miró to Josef de Galvez, September 6, 1785, is in Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Papeles de Estado, leg. 3891. For a copy of it we are indebted to Colonel Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, in whose library there is a transcript (Gardoqui Papers, III. 289-293).

<sup>185</sup> The reference is apparently to Bouligny's letter dated August 28 (*ante*, p. 326).

<sup>186</sup> See the letter of Long, Davenport, and Christmas, September 1, *ante*, p. 330.

<sup>187</sup> Miró to Long, Christmas, and Davenport, September 5, *post*, p. 333. See *post*, foot-note 138.

Es quanto tengo que participar digno de la atención de V. E.  
Dios nuestro Señor guarde á V. E. muchos años. Nueva Orleans  
5 de Setiembre de 1785.

B. L. M. de V. E. su más atento servidor.

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

Excmo. Sr. Conde de Galvez.

LIX. MIRÓ TO LONG, CHRISTMAS, AND DAVENPORT, SEPTEMBER 5[7],  
1785.<sup>188</sup>

*Muy S<sup>res</sup>. mios.*

He recibido las quatro cartas que V. SS. han escrito al Teniente Coronel Don Francisco Bouligny, Comandante del Fuerte y distrito de Natchez, desde el 29 de Agosto al 2 de Setiembre último: su asunto está contrahido á haber V. SS. manifestado los documentos que los autorizan á reclamar el referido Fuerte y distrito de Natchez en nombre del Estado de Georgia, como comprendidos en los 31 grados latitud Norte, que la Gran Bretaña señaló por límites en este Río á los Estados Unidos de América en el último Tratado de Paz.

No me toca de ningún modo hablar sobre el incontestable derecho que la España tiene hasta la desembocadura del Río Ohio en la orilla Oriental del Misisipi, por que está particularmente encargado de conciliar el arreglo de límites con los referidos Estados Unidos D<sup>n</sup>. Diego de Gardoqui, enviado por S. M. á Philadelphia, por lo que sólo diré que no he recibido orden para entregar el referido fuerte y Distrito de Natchez, y que en consecuencia del Juramento que tengo prestado estoy obligado á rehusarlo á quien lo reclamare y á defenderlo contra qualquiera enemigos que se presenten á atacarlo, mientras que no reciba Ordenes de mi Soberano para cederlo; en vista de esto no puedo permitir que V. SS. pongan en práctica su comisión de Jueces de Paz en el citado Distrito, ni en ningún otro de los Dominios de S. M. hasta la referida desembocadura del Río Ohio, que están baxo mi mando, y espero que V. SS. se abstendrán de exercer acto alguno de autoridad, el que miraria como una hostilidad; sin embargo, aunque desde luego considero no tienen V. SS. nada que hacer en estos Territorios de S. M. y que yo por las Leyes de Indias no puedo permitir en ellos Estrangero ninguno, por la atención que merece el Estado de Georgia que ha comisionado á V. SS. permito se mantengan en ese Distrito hasta que reciban respuesta de su honorable Estado, con la precisa circunstancia de no tratar con esos Vecinos Vasallos de S. M. sobre la disputa pendiente de límites, por las malas consecuencias que las conversaciones de esta especie pueden producir.

<sup>188</sup> For a copy of this letter we are indebted to the courtesy of Colonel Durrett, in whose library there is a transcript. Miró inclosed a copy in his letter (no. 230) of September 5 to the Conde de Galvez, *ante*, p. 332, and also in his letter of September 6 to Josef de Galvez (see *ante*, foot-note 134). A translation of the letter is in the *Publications* of the Louisiana Historical Society, vol. II. (1898), part II., pp. 15-16 (see p. 66 and foot-note 4, *supra*). The letter from which Mr. Cussachs made this translation is dated September 7, and that is the date under which it is mentioned in the letter of Long, Davenport, and Christmas to Miró, October 13 (*post*, p. 339), and also in Miró's reply, November 10 (*post*, p. 342). It would appear therefore that Miró gave to the letter actually despatched to the commissioners a date two days subsequent to that of the copies sent to Mexico and Spain.

Es digno de admiración que la honrada Legislación del Estado de Georgia haya enviado á V. SS. á reclamar el fuerte y Distrito de Natchez sin haberse antes puesto de acuerdo con el Rey mi Amo, pues no pueden ignorar que ningún Capitán general ni Virrey tiene la facultad de entregar los Dominios que manda sin expresa orden de su Soberano, lo que miro y he mirado como un proceder dirigido á buscar pretexto para un rompimiento, lo que estoy preparando á la defensiva, haciendo excesivos gastos, así para el envío de Tropas que ya he hecho á reforzar el Fuerte de Natchez, como en los preparativos que continuó en el Tren de Campaña para subir con crecido número de tropas que aguardo de las posesiones inmediatas de S. M. protextando desde luego como protexto que todos estos gastos son ocasionados por la Legislación del Estado de Georgia, á causa de los pasos que ha dado contra el derecho de Gentes en el envío de V. SS., estableciendo un condado en los Dominios del Rey mi Amo, á fin de que S. M. los reclame según fuere su soberana voluntad.<sup>139</sup>

Deseo ocasiones de servir á V. SS., cuya vida ruego á Dios gué. á V. SS. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 5 de Setiembre de 1785.

B. L. M. de V. SS. su más atento servidor,

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

S<sup>res</sup>.

D<sup>n</sup>. Nicolás Long  
Don Nathaniel Christmas y  
D<sup>n</sup>. Guillermo Davenport.

LX. THOMAS GREEN TO ANTHONY BLEDSOE.<sup>140</sup>

CHICKESAW 10<sup>th</sup> of Sep<sup>t</sup> 1785

*Dear Sir*

This you will Receive by the hand of M<sup>r</sup> Coyle which is to inform you that the Spanards will not give up the garrison and that they have sence I Demanded it have Reinforced it and is daly so Doing and sayes that thare clame is as far as as the tennessee if not further and has sent one Sasserer<sup>141</sup> a french man under pretence of Claming a negro of Elizah Keith. But his Busnes is a Spey to see the strenth of that place and Cane Tuck and all the weston Settlements and as for his Cerriacter he he is nothing but a tool and a Spey Even at the Natches

<sup>139</sup> The translation of this passage in the volume mentioned in the preceding note is not in accord with the present text and the meaning is obscured. The translation reads: "I do protest from this moment that all this expense is occasioned by the Legislature of the State of Georgia on account of the steps she has taken against the rights of people in your clan; I shall constitute as a county the dominions of the King, my master, that he may reclaim them according to his supreme will." The following expresses more nearly the sense of the passage: "... protesting from this moment, as I do protest, that all these expenses are occasioned by the legislation of the state of Georgia by reason of the steps she has taken contrary to the law of nations in sending you gentlemen to establish a county in the dominions of the King, my master, [I protest] to the end that his majesty may reclaim them [the expenses] in accordance with his sovereign will."

<sup>140</sup> The original of this letter is in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California. See foot-note 116.

<sup>141</sup> Luis Chacheret. See Bouligny's letter to Miró, November 13, *post*, p. 347.

and was one of the grates Enemies that the good peopel had thare tho but few new it and now if he is admited to pass he has money sent by him from goverment to purchas flower for the Garrison and has De-lueded that Inosent fool John Jack with him who was known formerly to be american So that if he is admited to pass I Expect it will be the braking up that Setteltment for the Spanards is a Drawin the Intrust of the Indens from us and has admitted Turnbull and others to bring goods to Mobeal and pencecola where thare Ships is to Land thare goods which cums under the Spanish Trade and has by the influence of the Creeks Stopt ower trade that way and Even sent after our peopel that Came from Georga as Commisheners to have them Murderd but mist them and I am Informd that it was the Creeks that did the mistch about Cumberland and Canetuck this Spring.<sup>142</sup>

Please to inform goverment thare is all the appearince of ware this way for thay are Repairing all thare Garrisons and Bulding of New ons and forses from Deffrant parts are Daly ariving at pencecoly and orlence Thare fore I think it is time for the americans to Look about them and If the natches is not gave up or taken our weston Cuntery is nothing thare fore I hope that Every american will not Suffer a few in crochen Tyrents to take the most Valuable places in this new world I am Dear Si<sup>r</sup>. Your Most Sencear frind

and Hble Sarvent

THO<sup>s</sup>. GREEN

NB.

I Shuld [have sent] a Gentaman on purpas to you about that man if this oppertunity had not offerd as all the Commisheners thinks he aught to be Stopt when thay heard his business

T G

Excus baD Righting as I have Lost my Spects  
[Addressed:]

For Col<sup>l</sup>. Bledso<sup>143</sup>

Faverd at Cumberland  
By M<sup>r</sup>. Coyle This —

LXI. LONG, DAVENPORT, AND CHRISTMAS TO GOVERNOR ELBERT.<sup>144</sup>

NATCHEZ September 13<sup>th</sup>. 1785

Sir

We do ourselves the honor of enclosing you the letters of correspondence between ourselves and Col. Boulogny Commandant of the garrison and district Natchez, an Officer of his Catholic Majestys, from which your honor may be informed of the precise situation in which this Country at present is, at least so far as we have any knowledge. The answer of Governor Miro on the subject of our business is not yet arrived from Orleans, in a few days we expect it which shall be transmitted you P<sup>r</sup> Express immediately after together with watever may occur in the interim.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, vol. III., ch. III.

<sup>143</sup> Colonel Anthony Bledsoe, intimately associated with James Robertson in the Cumberland settlement. He was killed by the Indians in 1788. See Putnam, *History of Middle Tennessee*, pp. 297-298, and *passim*.

<sup>144</sup> Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785".

Also is enclosed a circular letter<sup>145</sup> which hath occasioned much confusion in this country, and hath been a means of Alienating the disposition of many people from the State of Georgia. The consequences of it hath been severely felt by the Gentlemen who set it on foot, being contrary to the Spanish laws for any Person to convene the Populace together on any occasion: cognizance was immediately taken of this action in them, they were therefore apprehended and confined, M<sup>r</sup>. Banks in Irons, after a few days M<sup>r</sup>. Ellis and M<sup>r</sup>. Banks were confined to there houses and fined fifty Dollars M<sup>r</sup>. Gaillard sentenced to be Banished and given one month to prepare for his departure.<sup>146</sup>

Cap<sup>t</sup>. Davenport writes your honor several letters accompanying this, which was done prior to the arrival of the other two of us, and contains his correspondence singularly with the commandant of this Garrison, he also mentions to you the confusion he found this district in, owing to the Misconduct of Col. Thomas Green, but as that was a matter which did not immediately come under the observation of more than one of us, have declined mentioning anything on that head in the present letter, but give reference to his on that Subject.

In passing the different Indian Nations we made it our business as much as possible to pry into the disposition of the different tribes, of all which the Creeks are infinitely the most unfriendly to the Americans, owing to the decided parts that M<sup>r</sup>. Gilvery has taken in favour of the Spaniards. The Chicasaws are as much in favour of the Americans as the Creeks are averse to them, notwithstanding all possible means being taken to turn them to the Spaniards, by a set of Scoundrals who live in their Nation, being the banished and proscribed Refugees of the different States.

The head men of this nation shew'd us a great deal of friendship whilst amongst them often expressing how happy they lived before the late war when we used to furnish them Amunition goods etc., but now they say they are forgotten, and will be obliged to apply for releaf from a set of People they are by Nature enemies to, and to those people who in former days have kill'd and destroy'd so many of their kings and Warriors.

They are desirious of meeting the beloved Men of Georgia and of establishing a firm and permanent peace with them. M<sup>r</sup>. Cousens a man of real influence among this Nation, they desired should bring them

<sup>145</sup> Presumably the manifesto of Ellis, Gaillard, and Banks, p. 77, *supra*. The letter cannot now be found in the archives of Georgia. See Davenport's letter to Governor Elbert, July 26 (*ante*, p. 305), and p. 95, foot-note 109, *supra*.

<sup>146</sup> Compare a letter of James McDonald to Joseph Martin, dated at Lookout Mountain, September 6, 1785 (*North Carolina State Records*, XVII. 519; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, IV. 55). McDonald had heard that "there is a number of Americans Already Taken up at Natches and sent prisoners to Orleans. The principal of them, it is said, will be hanged." On the other hand, Benjamin Hawkins, who was at Charleston as a commissioner of the United States to make a treaty with the southern Indians, wrote to Governor Caswell of North Carolina (September 26): "The Agent of Georgia among the Creeks has lately informed Governor Elbert that the Americans on the Mississippi have taken the Fort from the Spaniards at the Natches. The Governor says he hopes it is not true but I think otherwise." (*N. C. State Records*, XVII. 523; cf. *Cal. of Virginia State Papers*, IV. 57.) See also McGillivray's letter to Zespedes, December 10, *post*, p. 348.



a talk from you as they say he never deceived nor told them lies, and that they can beleave what he tells them.

The Chactaws are a number of them very friendly to us particularly the Towns immediately under the direction of Mingo French Man Stubby<sup>147</sup> who has never yet worn any goods but such as were brought him by Americans, he is desirious of getting commissions for his chief Warriors from the State of Georgia amounting in all to nearly forty in number. We mentioned to him the general treaty that was expected to be held with the continental commissioners,<sup>148</sup> at which he was much pleased and sayd that for these two years past he had experienced many veisitudes [*sic*] of mind respecting his brethern the American people that he sometimes expected the time was near at hand, when he could take a fast hold without fear of letting go; at other times appearences was so much against it that he lost all hopes of ever seeing that day, he compear'd his own Situation to a tiard cold traveler spent with fatigue and perished almost to death with cold, who setting himselfe down with his flint and knife, to strike fire with bad punk on which a spark falling now and then rayeses a smoke anxiously expecting fire is at length mortified by its going out; but that now he was in hopes more than ever that the smoke would soon kindle into a blaze and he again hear a good talk from his old friends, which would set all to rights.

We have mentioned the preceeding circumstances to shew the dispositions of those tribes towards the people of America in order that every encouragement should be given them to continue in the same friendly inclination.

We have the honor to be Sir Y<sup>r</sup>. honors Ob<sup>t</sup>. hb<sup>e</sup>. Ser<sup>ts</sup>.

N. LONG. JR.

W. DAVENPORT.

NAT CHRISTMAS.

His honor Governor Elbert.

LXII. THE CONDE DE GALVEZ TO MIRÓ, SEPTEMBER 22, 1785.<sup>149</sup>

Por las cartas de V.S. numeros 210, 211, y 223, de 22 de Julio,<sup>150</sup> y 2 de Agosto<sup>151</sup> ultimos en que me encompaña copias de los Oficios, y Documentos que le han sido remitidos á V.S. por el Teniente Coronel Don Felipe Treviño, y su sucesor en el mando del Fuerte de Natchez el Teniente Coronel Don Francisco Bouligny, quedo enterado con individualidad de quanto ha ocurrido en esa Provincia, despues de las primeras noticias que V.S. me comunicó, relativas á la solicitud hecha por Tomas Green Havitante de aquel Puesto, á nombre del Estado de Georgia á fin de que le fuera entregado, y la continuacion de los posteriores pasos dados por el mismo sugeto, y su asociado Don Guillermo Davenport; como tambien de las disposiciones que aquellos dos Comandantes tomaron, y ordenes que V.S. les habia comunicado sobre el asunto.

<sup>147</sup> Chief Franchammastubba, also written Franchimastabé.

<sup>148</sup> The treaty of Hopewell. See foot-note 108.

<sup>149</sup> Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis., y Flor., est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14. A copy was also inclosed in Miró's letter (no. 99) to Bouligny, November 10, 1785 (*post*, p. 346).

<sup>150</sup> *Supra*, pp. 107-109.

<sup>151</sup> Miró's letter (no. 223) of August 2 to the Conde de Galvez is missing.

Los expresados Oficiales no tiene duda obraron con mucha prudencia, y que con ella se condujó V.S. en sus providencias, pero á mi me parece no fueron acreedores á tanta consideracion unos hombres de conducta sospechosa, cuyo manejo era desde luego hostil, y á quienes por termino alguno constaba se les hubiese autorizado lejitimamente para la comicion que representaban.

Los nombramientos, patentes, y qualesquiera otro Documento de los que han presentado ninguna fé deben hacernos para que con solo ellos sean admitidos, y considerados Green ni sus compañeros en la clase de Comisionados ó Embajadores, y mucho menos para que les sea entregado un distrito de que somos dueños, sin que haya precidido la correspondiente cesion de nuestra Corte, mediante el acuerdo en que era consiguiente se pusiese con el Congreso general de los Estados Unidos, y se nos hubiese hecho saber reciprocamente por el conducto de los respectivos representantes de ambas Potencias.

Tambien sabe V.S. con que facilidad los Americanos dan á la prensa qualesquiera escrito, y tiene la experiencia de como falsearon poco tiempo hace en esa misma Provincia los Villetes Reales, por lo que nada extraño seria que de la propia suerte hayan impreso las Patentes de Jueces de Paz, y demas Comiciones citadas sin conocimiento del Estado por quien se suponen expedidas; Y asi tampoco debe causar la menor fuerza verlas extendidas en letra de molde para darles mas credito, pero aun quando fuesen lejitimas, siempre carecen de la circunstancia de ser comunicadas bajo las formalidades de costumbre, regularidad en casos tales, y entre Naciones ocultas.

En qualesquiera de ellas á donde hubiera llegado un sugeto del caracter que V.S. conoce es Tomas Green, con una solicitud parecida á la suya, y comportandose del modo tumultuario que el ha descubierto entre el vecindario de Natchez (especialmente siendo el mismo uno de los que lo compone) creo que lejos de ser admitido con la pretendida representacion de enviado, habria sido tratado con el rigor que las Leyes imponen a un sedicioso.

Su procedimiento no considero merezca otro titulo: La consecuencia notada en los expresados papeles de la indicada Comision: La falta de su presentacion ante V.S. para dar cuenta de ella conforme se le previno por Treviño, y el temor que Green, y Davemport han manifestado con eso á nuestro Gobierno, igualmente que las expresiones de amenaza vertidas despues, y sus diligencias dirigidas á conmovier los animos del vecindario de Natchez; son claros testimonios de la mala fé de ambos, y eran sobrado motivo para haber procedido desde luego contra ellos, sin respecto, ni consideracion alguna.

Yo bien me hago cargo que toda la que ha habido por parte de V.S. no pudo llevar otra mira que la de conservar buena armonia con los Americanos, evitando el menor fundamento de queja, con la idea, por supuesto de ganar tiempo para que la llegada á Filadelfia de Don Diego Gardoqui pusiera fin amistoso á sus deseos, y pretenciones una vez arreglada la demarcacion de limites sobre el Misisipi, pero tambien pienso; Que no estamos en el caso de manifestarles temor alguno; pues jamas atribuiran á otra cosa nuestra tolerancia, que esta solo servira para que abusando de ella nos insulten con mayor empeño; y que al fin no podran ejecutar mas de lo que practicarian de resultas de verse tratados como enemigos declarados, pues ellos lo han de ser siempre que

á eso conspiren las actuales intenciones de los Estados, por mas que los contemplemos, ó desistir de su intento, sino tiene parte en la referida solicitud, y quieren solo conocer la razon con que la resistimos.

En fuerza de estas reflexiones debe tambien V.S. mudar de metodo, y si bolvieren á comparecer esos Yndividuos, ó qualesquiera otro con igual Diputacion, continuando en los mismos pasos; mandara V.S. arrestarlos inmediatamente y formada su correspondiente causa me la remitira V.S. dirigiendo los Reos al Castillo de San Juan de Ulua bajo la custodia necesaria para que yo determine de ellos. La misma providencia tomara V.S. con todo otro Habitante de Natchez que se halle indiciado del delito de sedicion; pero como puede comprehender á muchos exige por supuesto que su culpa este bien calificada antes de determinar la providencia general, que convenga para extinguir de raiz la semilla de la rebelion, y asi encargo á V.S. que para verificarlo se asegure bien de los hechos, y manejo de cada persona de aquellos que se graduen Criminales.

Mediante todo lo referido apruebo que V.S. haya enviado á aquel Fuerte el refuerzo de la Compañia de Granaderos; que haga las precisas prevenciones para su defensa en el ultimo acontecimiento como el que V.S. se haya detenido en precaucion de la salud de la tropa, existiendo preparado á marchar alla quando lo contemple necesario, para cuyo caso, como confio que sabra tomar quantos partidos le dicte su acreditado celo, inteligencia militar, conocimiento del terreno, y de los Enemigos; nada mas me resta que prevenir á V.S. en la materia.<sup>152</sup>

Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años. Mexico 22 de Septiembre de 1785.

EL CONDE DE GALVEZ.

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

LXIII. LONG, DAVENPORT, AND CHRISTMAS TO MIRÓ.<sup>153</sup>

AMITY HALL 13<sup>th</sup>. October 1785

Sir,

We have had the honor of your favour wrote in Orleans the 7<sup>th</sup>. September<sup>154</sup> ultimo, the purport of which (so far as respects our acting in the authority of our commissions prior to the settlement of the present teritorial contention) we conceived to be fully answered in the part of our instructions furnished Col. Boulogny, which we suppose to have been transmitted your excellancy. We have no inclination, nor are we authorized (though never so desirous) to discharge the function of our offices untill that matter be finally adjusted.

<sup>152</sup> The tone of this letter, so in keeping with the known character of Galvez, leads to the conclusion that, had he been in New Orleans, all the Georgia envoys would have departed earlier for the Indian nations. See Miró's reply, November 10 (no. LXVIII. of these documents), *post*, p. 343; also his letter of same date to Boulogny, *post*, p. 346, where he endeavors to throw the responsibility upon Boulogny.

<sup>153</sup> The original of this letter is in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, the curator of which, Mr. F. J. Teggart, has kindly furnished this copy. A Spanish translation was inclosed in Miró's letter (no. 246) to the Conde de Galvez, November 10, 1785 (*post*, p. 343), and also in his letter (no. 110) to Josef de Galvez, November 16, 1785 (Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis. y Flor., est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14).

<sup>154</sup> *Ante*, p. 333. See foot-note 138.

We were well acquainted with his Majesty's Agent's being gone to the Continental Congress on the affairs of this river and conjectured from the length of time that he hath been gone, that your excellency had received despatches on that business, before this present period, from which you would be authorized to give a decisive answer to the subject on which we have said much already, and untill we are honored with it our opinions must differ greatly with your excellency's in respect to our having, or not having, business in the district; considering ourselves authorized to remain untill finally answered. But from an earnest wish of giving every imaginable quietude to the Gentleman who commands this Garrison, at the same time impress'd with the profoundest respect for your excellency, and tenacious of doing any thing that would create your displeasure, we assure you it is not our intention to say any thing to the Vassals of his Majesty on the point in contest that may eventually be productive of ill consequences to the government.

We are very confident that a Captain General or Voiceroy has not authority to deliver up a country which may be under his command unless by special directions from his Sovereign but are of opinion that they are authorized to conform to the Articles of a Solemn treaty ratified by their Sovereign unless particularly ordered to the contrary. It is by the definitive treaty of amity and peace that the honorable Legislature of Georgia conceived themselves warrented in the present demand; and to us it is strange that a proceeding founded on such just principils should be construed into a pretext (as your excellency is pleased to term it) for a rupture, so far were the Assembly of Georgia from desiring this, that in those very papers furnished you, copies of our authority, we were forbid doing any (thing contrary to the right of the State) that may eventually occasion a rupture.<sup>155</sup> We will not presume to say in what light the United States will consider the making of fortifications within their boundaries neither do we say that they will not quietly submit to so valuable a member being lopped off from their general territory, but our opinion is otherwise, and we assure your excellency our stedfast belief is that the State of Georgia will by no means consent to disburce the expences you mention are likely to be charged them.

We have the honor to be Sir with great esteem and respect  
your excellency's Ob<sup>t</sup>. hum<sup>l</sup>. serv<sup>ts</sup>.

N. LONG JR.  
WM DAVENPORT  
N. CHRISTMAS

D<sup>n</sup>. Stephen Miro Gov<sup>r</sup>.

LXIV. THE CONDE DE GALVEZ TO MIRÓ, OCTOBER 20, 1785.<sup>156</sup>

En carta numero doscientos veinte y cinco de catorce de Agosto<sup>157</sup> que acabo de recibir me incluye V.S. una copia comprehensiva de lo principal que resulta del contenido de diez y nueve Oficios que el Comandante del fuerte de Natchez D. Francisco Buligny ha escrito á V.S. desde su llegada alli los mas consernientes al asunto sobre si será ó no atacado por los Americanos haciendome tambien V.S. relacion de lo que considera digno de noticiarme en el particular.

<sup>155</sup> See the instructions of February 11, p. 71, *supra*.

<sup>156</sup> Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

<sup>157</sup> *Anie*, p. 323.

Quedo por consiguiente impuesto de todo ello: apruebo la diligencia mandada practicar por el citado Comandante de haber comisionado varios súgetos para el reconocimiento y averiguacion de si es cierta la especie que le comunicaron algunos indios de hallarse trescientos hombres sobre los Rios Cheraquis y Cumberland construyendo lanchas y barcos chatos. Me ha parecido igualmente bien la providencia economica tomada por V.S. de suspender su marcha y la compostura del cuarto lanchon cañonero mediante las apariencias de tranquilidad en que al mismo tiempo supo V.S. se hallan los habitantes del referido Distrito y señales que los propios comisionados manifiestan de no ser su animo hostil en la actualidad; y finalmente ha sido de mi aprobacion el vando que V.S. dispuso se hiciera saber á los vecinos de Natchez.

De todo doy parte á S.M. y á V.S. avisaré con la oportunidad que me fuese posible lo que juzgare mas conveniente que execute en el caso de que llegase á mi conocimiento ser inevitable un rompimiento ó preciso que V.S. emprendiera la marcha para el fin á que se halla prevenido.

Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años. Mexico veinte de Octubre de mil setecientos ochenta y cinco.

EL CONDE DE GALVEZ.

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

LXV. SAMUEL ELBERT TO THOMAS GREEN.<sup>158</sup>

SAVANNAH 9th. November 1785.

To Col<sup>o</sup> Greene, in the Chicasaws.

Sir.

I had the honor to receive your Dispatches<sup>159</sup> by Capt Jamieson, who will deliver you this. We have paid this Gent. in a Dr<sup>t</sup> on the Tr. thirty pounds Ster<sup>o</sup>. in full for coming down and returning.

I am sorry to find that your situation has been made unhappy in consequence of the Bourbon business. It is not in the power of the Ex<sup>o</sup>. to afford you any relief. Your letter will be laid before the Legis<sup>o</sup>. when they meet and I have no doubt they will take some measures for y<sup>r</sup>. relief, till then I think you will be well employed in regulating matters with the Indians so as to impress them with favorable sentiments towards this and the people of the United States.

I am etc.

S. E.

<sup>158</sup> From the letter-book of Samuel Elbert in possession of the Georgia Historical Society. For this copy we are indebted to William Harden, Esq., librarian of that society. A less accurate copy is in the Force transcripts in the Library of Congress ("Georgia Records, Council Correspondence").

<sup>159</sup> The despatches referred to have not been found. There is, however, in the bundle marked "Foreign Affairs, 1785", in the office of the secretary of state, in Atlanta, a wrapper addressed to Governor Elbert "Hon<sup>d</sup>. by Cap<sup>t</sup> John Jameson" and indorsed "Letter, Thomas Green, Chactaw Nation". The indorsement further shows that the letter was received November 8 and read in council November 9. Another wrapper shows that letters from Davenport were received November 2 and read in council November 8.

LXVI. MIRÓ TO LONG, CHRISTMAS, AND DAVENPORT,  
NOVEMBER 10, 1785.<sup>100</sup>

*Muy Señores míos:*

He recibido con fecha de 13 de Octubre ultimo la respuesta que VV. S.S. dan á mi oficio de siete de Septiembre; la arrogancia con que V.V. S.S. afirman estan autorizados á mantenerse en ese distrito, con la expresion dura, y fuerza del caso en que me reconviene V.V. S.S. por las fortificaciones que se trabajan en el, suponiendo las dentro de los limites de los Estados Unidos, me precisan á prevenir á V.V.S.S. y á toda su comitiva salgan de esa jurisdiccion y demas territorios que posee el Rey mi amo por las conquistas de Natchez, Mobila, y Panzicola, las que comprende todo quanto mandaba el General Campbell<sup>101</sup> que las rindió por la capitulacion de la ultima Plaza: doy á V.V.S.S. quince dias de tiempo desde el en que recibieren esta, para empezar su marcha, y un mes despues para salir de los referidos territorios, en la inteligencia de que si concluidos los primeros permanecen V.V.S.S. ahi lo miraré como un acto de hostilidad, y en su consecuencia, doy por si llega este caso, las ordenes correspondientes al Teniente Coronel Don Francisco Bouligny.<sup>102</sup>

Si es cierto que V.V.S.S. vienen de parte del Estado de Georgia, juzgo seran corregidos por el referido modo de escribir por el proceder tumultuario de Tomás Green, y por las conversaciones perjudiciales que han tenido Don Guillermo Davenport, principalmente en el convite de Job Corry,<sup>103</sup> pero se puede dudar seán V.V.S.S. verdaderamente tales comisionados, por que estos no los envia jamas una Nación á otra á tales comisiones, sin estar los respectivos soberanos antes de acuerdo. En favor de la tranquilidad, y buena armonia con los Estados Unidos, no obstante esta duda, admití á V.V.S.S. permitiendo se mantubiesen en ese distrito, hasta que recibiesen su respuesta; pero visto el modo con que V.V.S.S. se producen en la contestacion arriba citada seria contra el decoro que se debe á la Magestad que me ha conferido el mando de estas Provincias el sufrir mas tiempo la permanencia de V.V.S.S. en ellas.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Inclosed in letter (no. 246) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, November 10 (*post*, p. 343), marked "Copia". It is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba, Florida Occidental, leg. 11. Another copy inclosed in letter no. 110 of Miró to Josef de Galvez, November 16, is in Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis., y Flor., est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14. A translation of the letter is in the Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785".

<sup>101</sup> General John Campbell was in command of the British forces in West Florida in 1780-1781 and capitulated to Bernardo de Galvez at Pensacola on May 9, 1781. Natchez and Mobile had previously been taken by the Spanish forces, the former in September, 1779, the latter in March, 1780. The claim to the territory is therefore based primarily on conquest and secondarily on the boundaries which West Florida actually had under British administration at the outbreak of the war. See pp. 67-68 *supra*.

<sup>102</sup> See the letter to Bouligny, November 10, *post*, p. 346.

<sup>103</sup> See numbers XX., XXI., and XXVI. of these documents, pp. 100, 101, 107, *supra*.

<sup>104</sup> The vigorous attitude taken in this letter is due mainly to the letter from the Conde de Galvez, September 22, *ante*, p. 337.



Dios guarde á V.V.S.S. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 10 de Noviembre de mil setecientos ochenta y cinco.

MIRÓ.

Señores Don Nicolas Long,  
Don Nathaniel Christmas, y  
Don Guillermo Davenport.

LXVII. MIRÓ TO THE CONDE DE GALVEZ, NOVEMBER 10, 1785.<sup>166</sup>

*Exmo Señor*

*Muy Señor mio:*

Incluyo á V.E. bajo el numero 1º. la traduccion de la carta<sup>166</sup> que en respuesta me dirigen los Comisarios del Estado de Georgia, cuyo contenido me ha parecido lleno de arrogancia, y reconvenccion por las fortificaciones, que dicen se hacen dentro de los limites de los Estados Unidos, lo que recae solamente sobre las reparaciones, que para mejor defensa he mandado continuar en el Fuerte de Natchez, por lo que aunque, yo los habia admitido como tales comisionados (no obstante la duda de poder ser fingidos los documentos que los autorizan por no haber sido comunicados con las formalidades de estilo en favor de la tranquilidad, y buena harmonia con los Estados Unidos) les mando retirar de esta Provincia en los términos que V.E. verá en la copia nº. 2.<sup>167</sup> lo que como analogo á lo que V.E. me tiene ultimamente prevenido de no tener con ellos consideracion confia será de su aprovacion.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 10 de Noviembre de 1785.

Exmo. Señor,

B. L. M. de V.E. su mas atento servidor,

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

Exmo Señor Conde de Galvez.

LXVIII. MIRÓ TO THE CONDE DE GALVEZ, NOVEMBER 10, 1785.<sup>168</sup>

*Exmo Señor*

*Muy Señor mio:*

En contextacion<sup>169</sup> de mis cartas<sup>170</sup> numeros 210, 211, y 223, desaprueba V.E. mi conducta en quanto haber tratado con demasiada condescendencia á los Comisarios que han venido á reclamar el distrito de Natchez por el Estado de Georgia, sobre lo que suplico á V.E. me permita las siguientes reflexiones.

Quando pareció Tomas Green dió realmente motivos para ser arrestados, pero el Comandante Don Felipe Treviño tubo dos fuertes razones para no hacerlo: la primera que siendo un subalterno temió

<sup>166</sup> This is no. 246. It is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. A copy, inclosed in letter no. 110 of Miró to Josef de Galvez, November 16, is in the same archives, Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis., y Flor., est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14.

<sup>168</sup> The letter of Long, Davenport, and Christmas, October 13, *ante*, p. 339.

<sup>167</sup> Miró's reply to Long, Christmas, and Davenport, *ante*, p. 342.

<sup>168</sup> No. 249. It is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

<sup>169</sup> Letter of September 22, *ante*, p. 337.

<sup>170</sup> Miró's letters nos. 210 and 211, July 22, are printed, *supra*, pp. 107-109: his letter no 223 is missing.



comprometerse con la superioridad en punto de derecho Nacional con el recelo de ocasionar una Guerra, por lo que no se atrevio á obrar sin ordenes: la segunda que si hallaba solamente con 55 hombres de Guarnicion, é ignorava si habia, ó no, tropas inmediatas para sostener á Tomas Green, ó si sus pasos habian adquirido muchos seguaces en el distrito; circunstancias que me parecen debian inducirle á obrar con prudencia. Quando yo recibí la noticia del arrivo de Tomas Green me hallaba en el mismo caso arriva expresado, con noticias circunstanciadas, y comunicadas de diferentes parages de que habia 2,500 hombres en marcha contra Natchez, y mientras preparaba el socorro<sup>171</sup> contexté á Don Felipe Treviño, aprobándole su conducta;<sup>172</sup> y escribí á Tomás Green<sup>173</sup> en terminos fuertes, como V.E. ha visto, mandándole bajase á esta Capital á presentarme los Documentos, y amenazándole de aprenderlo, si no lo hacia, por lo que escogio el partido de huirse;<sup>174</sup> lo que me parece prueba que no creyó se le trataba con tolerancia: si entonces hubiera yo mandado lo aprendiesen, y hubiese sido cierto que se hallaban las Tropas americanas alli, y que de resultas de esta providencia hubiesen atacado, y tomado á Natchez, me persuado se me hubiera hecho grave cargo de haberme precipitado, y de haber promovido dicho ataque, antes de enviar socorro.

En el intermedio llego Don Guillermo Davemport 2°. Comisario, y estando á un de mi parte en duda si las tropas americanas existian ó no á la inmediacion; mis ordenes al Comandante de Natchez fueron, que no daria respuesta alguna á los Comisarios, y que para ser admitidos debia bajar á esta Capital á lo menos uno de ellos, ó enviarme los Documentos originales, que los autorizaban.<sup>175</sup> Quando me comunicó Don Felipe Treviño que le habian participado que Don Guillermo Davemport habia hecho una harenga en un convite, induciendo los Habitantes á unirsele, para tomar el Fuerte;<sup>176</sup> mande á Don Francisco Bouligny, que habia ya salido de esta para Natchez, le formase causa, y si salia culpado me lo enviase con ella;<sup>177</sup> envíe copia de esta orden á V.E. en los Documentos de la citada carta n°. 211.<sup>178</sup> en cuya repuesta V.E. me dice que los he tratado con demasiada condescendencia, y que debo mudar de metodo, si volviesen á comparecer estos, ó qualquiera otro con igual diputacion.<sup>179</sup> De esta ultima expresion infero que V.E. cree que Davemport se habia tambien ausentado; pero en los Oficios arriba citados, ó sus documentos, á que me contesta V.E. tengo participado que Davemport se mantenía en Natchez esperando á los otros dos Comisarios que estaban en Camino.<sup>180</sup>

De todo lo referido resulta, que no se habia admitido á Tomás Green,

<sup>171</sup> See Miró's letters of June 14 and 20, pp. 78, 91, *supra*.

<sup>172</sup> Miró to Treviño, June 16, p. 85, *supra*.

<sup>173</sup> Miró to Green, June 19, p. 90, *supra*.

<sup>174</sup> See letter of Treviño, July 11, p. 101, *supra*.

<sup>175</sup> The reference is probably to Miró's letter to Treviño, June 21, which is missing. See Treviño to Miró, July 11, *ibid*.

<sup>176</sup> See letter of Treviño to Miró, July 11, and the statement of Stephen Minor, July 10, pp. 100, 101, *supra*.

<sup>177</sup> Miró to Bouligny, July 19 (especially the third letter), pp. 106-107, *supra*.

<sup>178</sup> July 22 (second letter), p. 108, *supra*.

<sup>179</sup> See the letter of Galvez, September 22, *ante*, p. 337.

<sup>180</sup> Probably in the missing letter of August 2. Cf. Miró's letter of that date to O'Neill, *ante*, p. 317.

y que evitó su prision por su fuga; que á Davempport le habia mandado hacer proceso, para que con el se me remitiese á esta Capital: esto es lo que sabia V.E. quando desaprueba mi conducta por haberlos tratado con tanta consideracion.

No siento que V.E. me desapruebe, no obstante que de mi parte no lo merecia hasta la fecha con que V.E. lo hace, por que considero que las grandes ocupaciones de V.E. le hicieron confundir la culpa de los particulares Comandantes de Natchez con la mia; pues ellos fueron los que no tomaron sobre si el obrar contra Davempport, luego que les dieron noticia que hablaba sediciosamente, y yo de mi parte, no pude hacer otra cosa que mandarles apenas lo supe, le hiciesen su causa.

Lo que si siento es, que despues no se hizo la causa á Davempport; no precisé á este ni á sus dos Compañeros á que bajasen á esta á presentar los documentos originales, y los he admitido como tales Comisarios del Estado de Georgia en mi respuesta formal: tres puntos diametricamente opuestos al modo de pensar de V.E. y sobre los quales debo esperar ser enteramente desaprobado; pero daré las razones que ha tenido para obrar así, por si pudiesen disminuir en algo mi yerro.

Al mismo tiempo que mande á Don Francisco Boulig[n]y que formase causa á Davempport, le pase otra en oficio separado, para que hiciese lo mismo contra aquellos que hubiesen convenido en unirsele, la que acompaño aunque ya la tiene V.E. bajo el numero 1.<sup>181</sup> Como conosco el caracter de aquellos habitantes propensos á hacer fuga al menor recelo de ser procesados, le doy facultad para sofocar el asunto en los casos que la orden explica, y una de las expresiones es: "Sin embargo si en la causa formada á Davempport no resultase ninguno culpado" etc.<sup>a</sup> la qual confirma que la causa contra Davempport no deberia haberse excusado, y que mi expresion de poder sofocar el asunto recaia solamente sobre el perteneciente á los habitantes; pero Bouligny lo aplicó tambien á la causa de Davempport, y me responde como V. E. vera en su carta, que acompaña bajo el numero 2,<sup>182</sup> lo que le aprobé, aunque contra mi modo de pensar, por no desanimarle al principio de su mando, vista la tranquilidad en que quedaba aquel distrito.<sup>183</sup>

Sobre el haberme separado de la idea en que estube á los principios de precisarlos á bajar á presentarme los Documentos originales que los autorizaban, ó á enviarmelos: no tengo otra razon que dar, sino que me parecio bastante los presentasen á Don Francisco Bouligny con la libertad de cotejar las copias autorizadas que le dejaron, en atencion á que los dos 2.<sup>os</sup>. Comisarios Don Nicolas Long, y Don Nathaniel Christmas se portaron desde el instante de su llegada con mucha moderacion, contribuyendo con sus conversaciones á la tranquilidad publica, como tengo participado á V.E.<sup>184</sup>

Y por lo que toca á haberles dado mi respuesta formal, lo hecho en terminos que confio aprobará V.E.

Deseo haber satisfecho á V.E. asegurandole mudaré de metodo, como me ordena, lo que he principiado mandando á los referidos Comisarios

<sup>181</sup> The second letter of July 19 (number XXV.), p. 106, *supra*.

<sup>182</sup> Bouligny to Miró, August 10, *ante*, p. 322.

<sup>183</sup> The effort of Miró to shift the blame to his subordinate is tolerably clear. Compare the letters to Bouligny, July 19, pp. 106-107, *supra*, Bouligny's report, August 10, *ante*, p. 322, and Miró to Bouligny, November 10, *post*, p. 346.

<sup>184</sup> The reference is doubtless to the letter of September 5 to the Conde de Galvez, where such a statement is made of Nicholas Long (*ante*, p. 332).

salgan de la Provincia con motivo de la arrogancia, con que han contextado á mi citada respuesta: lo que comunico á V.E. en otro oficio, participandole que se mantienen en la mayor tranquilidad los habitantes de Natchez, sin dar motivo ninguno de desconfianza, que me asegura aquel Comandante prevee no darán, sin salir garante de que no se unan á qualquier tropa americana que se presentase de grado ó por fuerza, á causa de la situacion del Pais.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde á V.E. muchos años. Nueva orleans  
10 de Noviembre de 1785.

Exñio Señor, B.L.M. de V E. su mas atento servidor,

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

Exñio Señor Conde de Galvéz.

LXIX. MIRÓ TO BOULIGNY, NOVEMBER 10, 1785.<sup>185</sup>

Yncluyo á Vm. copia del oficio que acabo de recibir del Exñio Señor Conde de Galvez con fecha de 22 de Septiembre del corriente, en ella vera Vm. que S.E. no quiere se tenga contemplacion ninguna con los Comisionados del Estado de Georgia.

Por mi parte creo haber coincidido con todo quanto relaciona, pues á la primera aparicion de Tomas Green sin admitirlo le mandé bajar á esta Capital, lo que evitó por su fuga.

A la noticia que me dio Don Felipe Treviño de las expreciones vertidas por Don Guillermo Davemport, mandé á Vm. le formase su causa sin ninguna restriccion; pero Vm. aplicó la exprecion de poder sofocar el asunto hasta la causa de Davemport, la que realmente no recaia si no sobre la que debia formarse á los habitantes, en la qual decia, si en la causa formada á Davemport no resultase algun culpado etc<sup>a</sup> esta expresion incluye que la de Davemport, nunca debia escusarse, confieso sin embargo que yo he aprobado que Vm. no lo haya hecho, no por otra razon si no por no desanimar á Vm. á los principios de ese mando; pero ve Vm. ahora por la carta del Señor Conde que hubiera sido mejor que Vm. le hubiera formado su causa, y así en adelante conformese Vm. al sentido literal de mis ordenes, á menos que haya sucedido algun caso imprevisto, y contradictorio á la que diere del que yo no pudiese tener noticia, quando la escribi.<sup>186</sup>

Acompaño copia del oficio<sup>187</sup> que va adjunto para los referidos Comicionados, en el que les mando salir de ese distrito en los terminos que Vm. vera, si á los 15 dias no huviesen emprendido su marcha los aprenderá Vm. á toda costa formandoles la correspondiente sumaria, que verifique rehusaron salir del distrito, y me los enviará como tambien á los de su comitiva que no hubiesen obedecido, no debe detener á Vm. otra consideracion que la de una grave enfermedad, y solo si le encargo que el numero de tropas que envíe aprenderlos sea muy superior á los de su comitiva, á fin de que no teniendo esperanzas de poder resistir, eviten, rindiendose las muertes que resultarian de hacerlo.

Sin embargo de que ya es fuera de tiempo el principiar la causa

<sup>185</sup> Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. The letter is no. 99.

<sup>186</sup> Compare Miró's second and third letters of July 19, pp. 106-107, *supra*, and see his letter no. 249 of November 10 to the Conde de Galvez (no. LXVIII. of these documents), *ante*, p. 343.

<sup>187</sup> The letter of November 10 to Long, Christmas, and Davenport, *ante*, p. 342.

contra Davemport, por las expresiones con que prorrumpio en el convite de Job Corris segun aviso de Don Felipe Treviño en su carta numero 202:<sup>188</sup> como la cito sin expresarlas en el Oficio adjunto para el,<sup>189</sup> y sus compañeros: tomará Vm. sigilosamente quatro, ó seis declaraciones con asistencia de dos testigos, para averiguarlas, y aunque saliere en ellas culpado no lo aprenderá Vm. si se sale del distrito al tiempo señalado; pero si se mantubiese en el, y fuese preciso arrestarlo conforme lo arriba prevenido, le continuará Vm. entonces la causa hasta ponerla en Estado de sentencia. Dichas declaraciones, en caso de que el asunto no pase adelante, me las enviará Vm. luego que salgan los Comisarios del Distrito para hacer de ellas el uso que convenga.

Dios guarde á Vm. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 10 de Noviembre de 1785.

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

Señor Don Francisco Bouligny.

LXX. BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, NOVEMBER 13, 1785.<sup>190</sup>

*Mui Sor. mio,*

Llegó D<sup>a</sup>. Luis Chacheret,<sup>191</sup> á este Fuerte el dia 5. del corriente, habiendo salido de Cumberlan con precipitacion en vista de una carta que se procuró escrita por Tomas Green,<sup>192</sup> á los Gefes de Cumberlan denunciando al dho Chacheret como una persona sospechosa, y que iba encargado de espiar quanto se pasava en la Belle Riviere. Adjunto hallará V.S. la carta que me ha escrito dandome parte de lo que ha obserbado en su viaje, como tambien el orijinal de la carta de Green; Un mapa de la Belle Riviere, y algunas Gazetas de la Carolina del Norte, que podrán hacer ver a V.S. el modo de pensar de aquellas Gentes, y las alteraciones que ay entre ellos.

Su pronto regreso dice no le ha permitido tomar mas amplias noticias, se afirma en que Robertson,<sup>193</sup> á ido á delinear establecim<sup>tos</sup> en los Ecores á Margo,<sup>194</sup> 70. leguas mas arriva de Arkanzas, los que deven sér ocupados, una parte por familias de Cumberlan, y otra por familias de Kintochez; Que los establecimientos del oyo, y rios que en el se derraman son ya considerables, y cada dia se aumentan mucho: Que de las Provincias del Norte de la America Subministran mucha Gente por los Lagos Eri, y Ontario, al Establecimiento del Detroit: Que de la Filadelfia y provincias del Sur emigra mucha Gente á los Establecimientos del Fuerte Pit, Olston, Kintoches, Cumberlan y otros pequeños establecimientos; Que en Cumberlan se esperaban como 150. familias: Que no

<sup>188</sup> Treviño's letter to Miró, July 11, p. 101, *supra*. See also the statement of Stephen Minor, p. 100, *supra*.

<sup>189</sup> Miró to Bouligny, July 19 (no. XXVI.), p. 107, *supra*.

<sup>190</sup> In the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

<sup>191</sup> See Miró's letter to the Conde de Galvez, June 14, 1785, p. 78, *supra*, and his instructions to Treviño, June 16, p. 86, *supra*.

<sup>192</sup> Green's letter to Colonel Bledsoe, September 10, *ante*, p. 334.

<sup>193</sup> James Robertson, the leader of the Cumberland settlement.

<sup>194</sup> Bouligny uses the more common French name instead of Barrancas de Margot, the form often employed by Spanish writers. The locality is that of Memphis, Tennessee (the river Margot is now known as Wolf River); but as here used the name designates a wider region than the immediate locality of the bluffs.

ay apariencias que por ahora formen expedicion ninguna, pero q<sup>o</sup>. por poco impulso que se les dé, los animos estan bastante dispuestos a ello. Los documentos adjuntos aclararan á V.S. el concepto que merecen estas noticias, reuniendólas con las que vengan de Filadelfia, y otros parajes.

Dios Gué a V.S. las m<sup>as</sup>. a<sup>as</sup>. que deseo. Fuerte Panmur de Natchez 13 de Nov<sup>o</sup>. de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. Su mas atento Servidor y obediente subdito

FRAN<sup>co</sup> BOULIGNY.

S<sup>or</sup>. D<sup>a</sup>. Estevan Miró.

LXXI. THE CONDE DE GALVEZ TO ZESPEDES, NOVEMBER 22, 1785.<sup>195</sup>

Con fecha 26<sup>196</sup> de Julio comuniqué á V. S. las noticias, que havia recibido del Gov<sup>er</sup>. de la Nueva-Orleans, relatibas á la Solicitud del Estado de Georgia por el distrito de Natchéz, previniendo á V. S. vibiesse precavido en el trato con los Americanos p<sup>r</sup>. lo que pudiera acontecer de resultas de aquella novedad; Y aunque el mismo Gefe me participó por el mes de Agosto siguiente hallarse tranquilizados los Havitantes del referido territorio, y al parecer tambien desvanecidos los fundados recelos que habia concebido, acabo de recibir Carta del encargado de los negocios de n<sup>ra</sup> corte en Filadelfia, quien imponiendome de la referida solicitud, me manifiesta tambien, q<sup>o</sup>. segun la disposicion en q<sup>o</sup>. advierte los animos del Congreso, (pero principalm<sup>te</sup>. del Pueblo en general) no crche desistirán de su pretension los Americanos.<sup>197</sup>

Doy p<sup>r</sup>. consecuencia este aviso á V. S. para su Gobierno, renobandole el encargo de q<sup>o</sup>. vibia con el maior cuidado, y precausion, manejandose de un modo, que el Publico no llegue á alarmarse, discurriendo hay un proximo motibo para ello; Y por de contado procurando V. S. afirmar quanto le sea posible la amistad de las Naciones Yndias, empeñandolas al propio tiempo á q<sup>o</sup>. hagan toda la oposicion de q<sup>o</sup>. son capaces contra las solicitudes de los Estados Unidos, y si p<sup>r</sup>. parte de qualesq<sup>as</sup>. de ellos se hiciere á V. S. alguna sobre el indicado asunto, ú otro de igual naturaleza á ninguna accedera V. S. sin q<sup>o</sup>. preceda R<sup>l</sup>. orden, ó reciba otra mia.

Dios gué á V. S. m<sup>as</sup>. a<sup>as</sup>. Mexico 22 de Nov<sup>o</sup>. de 1785.

EL C<sup>do</sup>. DE GALVEZ

D.<sup>198</sup>

S<sup>or</sup>. D<sup>a</sup>. Vizente Zespedes.

LXXII. ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY TO ZESPEDES.<sup>199</sup>

APALACHY 10<sup>th</sup>. December 1785

Sir

I take this Opportunity to make my apology to Your Excellency for having delayed to comply with your desire that I should see you at

<sup>195</sup> Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XXXIX., M 3. The letter is no. 30 and is marked "Reservada". Zespedes has indorsed upon it: "Cont<sup>da</sup>. con No. 113".

<sup>196</sup> This is the date of the duplicate. The original was dated July 23 and is number XXIX. of these documents, p. 109, *supra*. See foot-note 174, *ibid*.

<sup>197</sup> See *ante*, p. 298, and foot-notes 6 and 7.

<sup>198</sup> Duplicado.

<sup>199</sup> Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, CXIV., J 9. A Spanish translation is inclosed in a letter of Zespedes to O'Neill, January 18, 1786, *ibid*. There is also a translation in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

St Augustine: tis a Circumstance of much Mortification to me that the Situation of affairs denys me the Liberty to Satisfy so Worthy and Generous a friend to my Nation and myself. Permit me to assure Your Excellency that I can feel no Content till the Kings affairs are in a Condition to permit me to pay you my warmest Acknowledgements in person. I had attempted to do it thrice but have been Called to Pensacola Several Times this past Summer and Fall, owing to the alarming accounts received at Orleans that a Numerous body of American banditts were Meditating an Invasion of the Spanish Territorys on the Misissippion on which I am Instructed to use my greatest exertions in Watching their Motions, and to prevent as much as possible any americans from passing thro the Indian Nations toward the Mississippi, which I have desired my people to be attentive to while in the Woods hunting this being the Season they are all out.

There is Reason for all this Caution as the Commandant of the Natchez has been repeatedly required to Surrender that Fort and District to the American States by persons who have Called themselves Commissioners—delegated upon that business, and Matters had arisen to that height that it was found Necessary by Government to Seize and put into Irons about Seventeen persons of the most seditious Americans, that were Inhabitants about the Natchez, and all others banishd.<sup>200</sup>

I have the Honor to be with The most respectfull regard

Sir, Your Excellencys Most Obedt. Servant,

ALEX: MCGILLIVRAY.

His Excellency General Zespedes

Governor etc etc. East Florida

LXXIII. JOSEF DE GALVEZ TO THE CONDE DE GALVEZ, DECEMBER 21,  
1785.<sup>201</sup>

Enterado el Rey del contenido de las dos Cartas reservadas de V.E. de 2 y 27 de Agosto ultimo num<sup>o</sup>. 82 y 150, y del testimonio y Copias que incluye la primera se ha servido aprovar los socorras de Artilleria, Armas, Pertrechos, y dinero que V.E. ha remitido al Governador de la Luisiana á consecuencia de los avisos que recibió de este relativos á las pretensiones de los Comisarios Americanos al distrito de Natchez y recelos de ser atacado por un Cuerpo de Tropas de los Estados, cuyas primeras noticias habra ya visto V.E. que se exageraron demasiado. Dios gue á V. E. m<sup>s</sup>. a<sup>s</sup>. Madrid 21 de Diziembre de 1785.

MARQ<sup>o</sup>. DE SONORA.

S<sup>o</sup>. Virrey de Mexico.

Mexico 20 de Abril de 1786.

Agreguesé copia certificada de esta R<sup>l</sup>. or<sup>a</sup> á su respectivo Expediente.

Galvez.

<sup>200</sup> Compare letter of Long, Davenport, and Christmas, September 13, *ante*, p. 335, and foot-note 146.

<sup>201</sup> Mexico, Arch. Gen. y Púb., Real. Céd. y Órd., 1785, tomo 132. It is no. 204 and is marked "Reservado".



LXXIV. THE CONDE DE GALVEZ TO ZESPEDES, DECEMBER 30, 1785.<sup>202</sup>

Contextando el Encargado de los negocios de nra Corte cerca de los Estados Unidos de la America Septentrional con fecha 21 de octubre á lo que le representé en el mes de Julio ultimo, relatibo a la novedad ocurrida en la Provincia de la Luisiana con motivo de la solicitud hecha por Thomas Green a nombre del Estado de Georgia para que se le entregase el Fuerte de Natchez, y demas acahecido, que el Gov.<sup>or</sup>. de la Nueva Orleans me expuso sobre el particular; me manifiesta el referido Ministro habien practicado el oficio que le correspondia con el Congreso, incluíndome copia de él, y de la respuesta satisfactoria, que le ha sido dada, segun reconocerá V. S. de las que acompaño vaxo los num.<sup>os</sup>. 1. y 2.<sup>os</sup>

Por ellas quedará tambien V. S. impuesto de las intensiones pacificas con q.<sup>o</sup>. se hallan los Miembros de aquel Cuerpo, y que aunque no desiste de sus indicadas pretensiones, solo intentan evacuarlas por medio de los correspond.<sup>tes</sup>. Tratados, en que quedan entendiendo los respectivos Ministros a quienes toca ajustarlos.

Ademas me dice D.<sup>n</sup>. Diego de Gardoqui que los representantes del referido Estado de Georgia le manifestaron crehian falsas la Patente de Gov.<sup>or</sup>. é Yinstrucciones presentadas por Green, y contemplaban q.<sup>o</sup>. la ultima, q.<sup>o</sup>. podia tener, seria la de uno de los Jueces de Paz, añadiéndome, q.<sup>o</sup>. lo conocian por un hombre quimérico, é indigno del Empleo con que se supuso.

Tambien me informa que los Estados unidos no mantienen mas tropa viva q.<sup>o</sup>. un corto numero, conque guarnecen algunos Puestos fronterizos a los Yndios y Fuertes Yngleses, por lo que considera absolutam.<sup>te</sup>. falsa la noticia extendida ahi de que sobre el Rio Ohio pudiera haber 2500 hombres, ni que los Emigrantes, q.<sup>o</sup>. han hido a establecerse en aquel territorio pueden pensar aora en otra cosa, que en erijir sus chozas, y romper los bosques para cultibarlos.

Esto no obstante V. S. deberá estar siempre prevenido, observando la maior precaucion con los Americanos, aunque sin faltarles en la debida urbanidad en todo lo que no se oponga al mejor servicio del Rey; Y qualesquiera extraordinaria novedad, que pueda ocurrir, y consideré V. S. digna del conocim.<sup>to</sup>. del citado Encargado, procurará comunicarsela en derecho con la brevedad posible.

Dios gué. a V. S. m.<sup>o</sup>. a.<sup>o</sup>. Mexico 30 de Diz.<sup>o</sup>. de 1785.

EL C.<sup>do</sup>. DE GALVEZ.

S.<sup>or</sup>. D.<sup>n</sup>. Vicente de Zespedes.

LXXV. WILLIAM DAVENPORT TO THE GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA.<sup>204</sup>

CHICKESAW NATION the 27. March 1786

Honour<sup>d</sup> Sir

A few days past some letters were handed me by Express from some of the Principall Inhabitance of Natchez, Requesting me to send to

<sup>202</sup> Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XXXIX., M3. The letter is no. 37 and is indorsed by Zespedes: "Contex. da con No. 115". An identical letter of this date was written to Miró. The latter is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

<sup>203</sup> No. 1 is a copy of Gardoqui's representation to Jay, September 23. No. 2 is a translation of Jay's letter to Gardoqui, October 14, and of the resolutions of Congress, October 13. See *ante*, p. 298.

<sup>204</sup> Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Indian Affairs, 1785-1786".



Your Honour, and inform you of their distress<sup>d</sup>. situation, For Tiranecall Govern<sup>t</sup>. Press<sup>d</sup>. harder on them Every day—wishing to know whether they Might still Ground their hopes on Releaff from your Quarter, tho should the situation of things place it out of your Power (Ither by the Country belonging to the Spaniards or Otherwise) Are in hopes they may be informed of it, as they may Get away with part of their Movable property, which must be down Unknown to the Com<sup>t</sup>. as severall had Apply<sup>d</sup>. and can only obtain liberty to go them Selves and not Return, but must leave their property behind. Orders have been issued for a Twelve Months Credit to be giving to all Spanish Subjects for debts that have been Transacted and if any sutes against them on the dockett to be dismis<sup>d</sup>. But for those who Call themselves Americans to discharge theirs Amediately or their property sold, Thease Unjust Acts (they say) with a number of others, Places them in a situation very disagreeable, they do not mention those things to you under an Expectation of Redress, no farther than that your Honour may Inform them in what situation they Stand, so as before Mentioned they may take such steps as they find best, for family and Property, they farther say as living under the Spaniards they pay Every Attention to their Laws and Customs only they will not take the Oath proposed to them, as they have Taken it before to America and Mooved their under an Expectation of its being an American Country. This was the heads of their Petition to me only desired I would Ashore you they should be Ready when Called on to Reimburse such sums as they may Cost the Publick by your indeavering to serve them. I have conformed myself as near as in my Power to the Instructions I Rec<sup>d</sup> from the Honourable Legislative Body, and cannot help thinking hard of not hearing from them for our instructions says in the second ar<sup>o</sup>: you'll Remain on the Premisses for further Orders, but when Compel<sup>d</sup> to leave that quarter I vieded my instructions and found by the 5 Ar<sup>t</sup>. we ware ordered to Cultivate amity with the Indians, where I am yousing my best Indeavers. In the Last Ar<sup>t</sup>. we are ordred to Communicate to your Honour Every thing that may happen Respecting the Country or People which I have neaver Neglected. Therefore flatter my self that your Honour will by the Barrer send me instru<sup>s</sup>. In what manner I am hereafter to act Untill Such time I shall Remain with Impatiance,

I have the Honour to be Sir with Greate Respect

Your Obed<sup>t</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

W. DAVENPORT.

His Honour the Governor<sup>205</sup>

LXXVI. WILLIAM DAVENPORT TO THE GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA.<sup>206</sup>

CHICKESAW NATION the 22 May 1786

Sir

the Barer came but a few days ago from the Natchez. I Rec. letters Requesting me to hurry them an answer as soon as I could to the

<sup>205</sup> The governor of Georgia in 1786 was Edward Telfair.

<sup>206</sup> Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Indian Affairs, 1785-1786".

Petition they have before desired me to send to your Honour, as their situation Grew worse and worse, which letter I hope now will be handed to you, who twice before has fallen through. I will Trouble your Honour no farther but Refer you to the Barrer who can answer you any question. Respecting this Country I hope by the Barer to Receive some instructions from your Honour in what Manner I in future shall act, untill which time I shall take such steps as I think Beneficial for Government and should any thing of consequence happen In this Quarter I shall never faile to let you know it

P. S. . . .

I have the Pleasure to  
Subscribe my Self your  
Honours Obe<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

W. DAVENPORT.<sup>207</sup>

His Honour the Governor  
Georgia

LXXVII. THOMAS GREEN TO EDWARD TELFAIR.<sup>208</sup>

NASHVILLE July 10<sup>th</sup>. 1786.

Hon<sup>d</sup>. Sir:

Since my last to your Honour I have received some Letters from the Inhabitants of the Natchez who pray that they may be considered as Citizens of this State and that they may not be given up to the Despotic Power of Spain, they have also requested of me to beg of the Legislative Body to be Relieved if it is in their Power. If not they wish to be given up to Congress who they are sure will relieve them, and have the Boundary Line run between their State and Spain which is so much their wish as well as of numbers of others who are ready to move with their Families to that Place whenever it shall be done. They Trust and

<sup>207</sup> For more than a year after this letter was written Davenport appears to have continued to act as a secret agent of Georgia among the Indians. McGillivray wrote to O'Neill, October 8, 1786, that Davenport had been going about secretly among the Choctaws and Chickasaws and had written to a trader to obtain a permit for him to pass through the Creek country in order that he might return to his own province, as he had received letters recalling him. On December 24 Zéspedes sent to Josef de Galvez a letter which Davenport had written to a person in Mobile disaffected toward the Spanish cause. In the spring of 1787 he was still active among the Indians (see, for instance, a letter of Pedro Juzan to Miró, March 19, inclosed in a letter of Miró to Josef de Galvez, June 1); but in the instructions which Miró gave (September 21, 1787) to Juan de La Villebeure, whom he was sending to remonstrate with the Choctaws for admitting Americans into their country, he mentions that Davenport and his companions had been murdered. Further light is thrown on this statement by two letters of McGillivray, one of October 4 to Miró, the other of October 6 to Zéspedes. McGillivray says in these letters that Davenport was intriguing with the Indians and that he found it necessary to dispose of him. Miró appears to have taken him to task severely for this murder. The two letters last mentioned of McGillivray and the letter of Zéspedes are in the Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, CXIV., J9, and XLII., C4, respectively. McGillivray's letter of October 8, 1786, and the letter of Juzan are in Seville, Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis, y Flor. The instructions to Villebeure are in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

<sup>208</sup> Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, in bundle marked "Georgia and North Carolina Boundary".

Hope that as it is your Honours Place to Defend and Protect us in our Laws and Liberties you will do every thing in your power for them.

Your Honour can not certainly be a Stranger to their Unhappy Situation they are entirely Debarred of that Liberty that has cost us so much Blood and Treasure to acquire by a Cruel and Despotic Government whose chief aim is to Enslave their unhappy subjects and load them with Oppression. Our Trade is stopp'd, our Property Confiscated ourselves Confin'd in Irons and even made slaves of for Life add to all this, setting on the Savages by every method they can to Murder our Men and Helpless Women and Children Instance Col: M<sup>c</sup>-Gilvery and many others of the Spaniards who take every opportunity to Encourage that Inhuman Practice

I am with the Sincerest Esteem

Your Honours mo<sup>t</sup>. Ob<sup>t</sup>. Servant

THOMAS GREEN.<sup>209</sup>

His Honour the Gov<sup>r</sup>. of Georgia

[Addressed:]

His Honor E<sup>t</sup>. Telfair Esquire Governor of the State of Georgia

Hon'd P M<sup>r</sup>. Williams

[Indorsed:]

Letter Thomas Green Nashville, July 10<sup>th</sup>, 1786

Ordered to be placed on the immediate file

<sup>209</sup> For further light on Green's project see his letter to the governor of Georgia written from Louisville, December 23, 1786, together with the related documents, in a report of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, dated April 12, 1787 (*Dip. Corr. of U. S. A., 1783-1789*, III. 233-251; *Secret Journals for Foreign Affairs*, IV. 301-328. The report is in the journals under April 13). Consult Thomas Marshall Green, *The Spanish Conspiracy*, pp. 73 ff., Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, III. 119-120, and cf. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, IV. 202

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*The Roman Assemblies, from their Origin to the End of the Republic.* By GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD, Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. x, 521.)

PROFESSOR BOTSFORD has in past years made important contributions in various learned publications to our knowledge of the social and political organizations of the Roman people. In this book we have a complete study of the whole subject, so far as the popular assemblies are concerned, and many who are familiar with the author's views on certain controverted points in this field of investigation will turn first to the chapters in this book in which these topics are discussed to see how his theories fit into a systematic treatment of Roman legislative institutions. Looking at his work from this point of view the most characteristic features of it are his application of the comparative method of study to the early history, his theory of the *plebs*, his definition of the terms *concilium* and *comitia*, and his theory that there was only one tribal assembly, which in the earlier and later periods contained both plebeians and patricians and met under the presidency of a tribune or a magistrate. In support of these views, as well as of the other conclusions which he reaches, Professor Botsford has made a thorough examination of the ancient and modern literature pertinent to the subject, and a keen critical analysis of the evidence and arguments which it furnishes.

In this brief review we can do little more than touch upon a few of the points of interest. To begin with the comparative method of study, the bearing of which is admirably stated on pp. 38-39, no one will be inclined to question the propriety of its use, but it plays a very secondary rôle by the side of the sources in arriving at the truth for the early period. Thus, for instance, the effective part of Professor Botsford's argument in support of his theory that the *plebs* were the mass of common freemen is based upon the ancient writers, upon etymology, and *a priori* considerations (*cf.* p. 37). Comparisons between the early Romans and other primitive peoples furnish some interesting parallels but are of little further service for the purpose in hand.

His analysis of the sources, however, has furnished the author with some very strong arguments in support of all the controverted points

mentioned above, and the whole forms a consistent and highly probable body of doctrine. His discussion of the terms *comitia* and *concilium* is especially brilliant and convincing. The uses of these two words in the Republic and under Augustus, he concludes in part (p. 137), "may be explained by two simple facts: (1) that whereas *concilium* is singular, *comitia* is plural; (2) that *concilium* suggests deliberation, discussion". "Concilium [is, therefore], the more general term within the political sphere; the assembly it designated may be organized or unorganized, whereas *comitia* applies only to assemblies organized in voting divisions" (p. 135).

So far as the composition and presidency of the tribal assembly or assemblies is concerned, Botsford holds that there was one tribal gathering only, that the patricians as well as the plebeians were admitted to it at first, were excluded from it as a result of the struggle from 449 to 339, but later were again allowed to attend (*cf.* pp. 300, 302, n. 1, 465). The composition of the body for Cicero's time was the same whether it met under the presidency of the tribune or of a magistrate, but under the former "it was technically the plebs", under the latter the *populus*. In defense of these propositions Botsford offers a very convincing array of arguments, the only weak point in the chain of evidence being the assumption (p. 276) that this patricio-plebeian assembly, when summoned by the tribune, was called the *plebs*.

The several Roman political institutions interacted upon one another to such an extent in their development that it is difficult to present a comprehensive treatment of one without a corresponding discussion of the others. This result, however, has been achieved rather more successfully in this book than it was by Willems in his similarly planned work on the Roman senate. But to the necessity of going outside the narrow range of his subject, we owe two of the most interesting and valuable sections of the book, those on the auspices and on the responsibility of magistrates for their political actions. The reviewer does not know of any such adequate treatment of these topics elsewhere.

On the other hand, the presentation in an uninterrupted form of the history of a single group of institutions has given us a clearer historical view of certain things than we have ever had before. To it we owe, for instance, a sketch of the development of modern theories upon many points in Roman constitutional history. To it we are indebted for an admirable history of comitial legislation. The chapters in which this last-mentioned topic is discussed bring out many important facts and raise some interesting queries. A case in point is the anomalous condition of affairs after 287 B.C., when the popular assemblies, having at last secured independence in legislative matters, failed to exercise it. Another is the failure of the centuriate *comitia* to pass any constitutional measure between 287 B.C. and the time of Sulla (*cf.* p. 236). Another still is the failure of the Romans to define clearly the field

within which each assembly should legislate (p. 239). It is extraordinary that this vagueness in defining functions did not cause trouble when party strife was intense. In such circumstances a question might well have been settled in different ways by the different assemblies.

We should have welcomed a brief appendix from Professor Botsford on the *comitia* in the towns outside Rome. These bodies continued to meet after the Roman assemblies had died out, and some interesting conclusions might have been drawn from a study of the inscriptions and from the ready-made written charters of Salpensa and Malaca with reference to the results of several centuries of practical experience in such matters at Rome. It is only, however, the admirable treatment which Professor Botsford has given to his chosen subject which makes us wish for this addition.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

*The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire.* By T. R. GLOVER. (London: Methuen. 1909. Pp. vi, 359.)

THE demand for a second edition of so solid a book within three months of original publication shows wide interest in the theme and bears witness to the skill of the author in handling it. The ground traversed is the well-trodden territory of the first two centuries, carried over somewhat into the third century in the study of such leaders as Celsus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian. The underlying motive of Doctor Glover's book may be defined as the endeavor to place side by side sharply contrasted pictures of the popular superstitions and philosophical creeds of the pagan empire on the one hand and of developing Christian faith and thought on the other. But the balance is well preserved, and one feels continually the presence of an historical sense singularly free from bias and open to the very divergent phases of the theme. Paganism is portrayed without prejudice, indeed with admirable insight and sympathy. Christianity is interpreted sympathetically but without illusions as to its historic limitations.

The pre-eminent characteristic of the book is its exceptional insight into the lives and thoughts of individual leaders, the power to grasp the whole of a man and to make him real and living. This quality appears first of all in the noble, almost tender, picture of Vergil in his relation to Roman religion, a picture crowded into five pages of the narrative, but filled with rare comprehension, reminding one of Principal Shairp's essay on *Virgil as a Religious Poet* of many years ago. The sketch of Seneca, in the second chapter, makes the Stoic statesman a living personality, and, in spite of his weakness, endears him to us. "He is a man, trained in the world, in touch with its problems of government, with the individual and his questions of character, death and eternity—too great a man to take the purely negative stand of Thræsea, or to practise the virtue of the schools in 'arrogant indolence'. But he has

hardly reached the inner peace which he sought." In the chapter on Plutarch (III.), although the treatment is much more extended, one misses the same firm grasp on the central truths; or it may be fairer to say that the position of Plutarch as the apologist of popular superstitions, the patron and harmonizer of conflicting cults and creeds, does not admit of the same direct and comprehensive definition.

When Doctor Glover comes to Christian leaders, his chapter on Jesus of Nazareth (IV.) claims first attention. Taking it at its own valuation, not as an attempt at a complete representation of the personality of Jesus or a complete interpretation of his historic significance but purely as a characterization, this chapter is one of the most satisfying portions of the book. One will search far in modern literature to find such a thoroughly sane, natural, and illuminating portrayal of Jesus as is here given—his personal life, his thought of himself, his teaching, all are given to the reader freshly, without commonplace, without predisposition, but with such insight as is essential to understanding.

In the remaining portions of the book the quite uncommon catholicity of the writer's mind is shown in his power to understand such widely divergent men as Celsus, Clement, and Tertullian. The chapter on Tertullian is little less than the rehabilitation of a great figure in the early church, possibly too apologetic, too magnanimous, but solid and correct in its attempt to judge the great leader in the light of his own day and his own problems.

These portraits of individual men are the crowning excellence of the book. Accompanying them are many helpful comments on the larger movements of the age, the rise and decay of philosophical doctrines and religious cults, the interplay of pagan and Christian forces, and so on. But the book makes no claim to be a constructive history of the subject it handles, and it is not. One naturally contrasts it with the noble work of Samuel Dill in the same field, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*. Considered as a constructive history, the older work is the better. But they stand as complementary rather than as competing with one another.

The scholarship and literary quality of Doctor Glover's book are fine. At times the massing of quotations and citations almost chokes the progress of the narrative but it emerges strong and steady on the other side. Most of all it is a book which helps one to feel the deep religious problem of the age. In that measure it is in the best way original and constructive.

ARLEY BARTHLOW SHOW.

*Vie de Sénèque*. Par RENÉ WALTZ. (Paris: Perrin et Cie. 1909. Pp. 462.)

UNFORTUNATELY Seneca found no adequate biographer in antiquity. While his own works exhibit him as writer and philosopher, they furnish



scanty information as to his life and tell us almost nothing directly of his political career. For this we must rely on Suetonius, Dio Cassius, and especially on Tacitus. At most, the amount of information which these writers give is not large; yet on their data M. Waltz has built a stout book dealing with Seneca's political life, to which he avowedly limits himself, so that his title should more properly be, "*La Vie Politique de Sénèque*". To accomplish his purpose, however, the author has felt it necessary to recount again in detail the history of the period; at times, indeed, so much is included that we run the risk of losing sight of Seneca in the crowded forest of the narration. Certainly here the half would have been more than the whole. The book would also be more effective if it treated Seneca's philosophy somewhat more fully, for it is obviously impossible to judge Seneca's political life without considering his philosophic views, as indeed M. Waltz is frequently obliged to do. Seneca's influence during the happy *quinquennium Neronis* can only be understood by taking into account the Stoic doctrines which he cherished; and furthermore we must believe that he was determined, or at least was justified to himself in many of his acts and compromises by the Stoic doctrine of political expediency: for example, in his opposition and final hostility toward Agrippina, to whom he had owed his recall from exile, and even in his approval of the fiction adopted by the senate after the murder of the empress-mother. Such a view, however, does not force us to see therein an adequate excuse for Seneca's actions, as our author appears to do.

Seneca's life, according to M. Waltz, is naturally divided into two main periods. The first reaches to the year 49 A. D., when, at the instance of Agrippina, he was recalled from exile, made praetor, and installed as tutor of Nero, then in his eleventh year. Hitherto Seneca had been known almost wholly as a learned philosopher; he had taken little part in politics, having held only the quaestorship. But his introduction into the imperial household as director of the young prince, and his position, shared only by the praetorian prefect Burrus, as chief adviser to the emperor after the year 54, gave him a position of extraordinary political influence, which continued for eight years until, deprived of Burrus and overcome by the adverse influence of Poppaea and Figellinus, he was forced to withdraw into a retirement which was destined to end in 65 A.D. with forced suicide. It was circumstances then which forced Seneca into a position of political power to which neither his tastes nor ambitions especially inclined him; faithful, however, to the political teachings of the Porch, once embarked on this career of influence, he raised himself to the position attributed to him by the elder Pliny—*princeps eruditionis ac potentiae*; thus realizing Plato's ideal of the philosophic ruler.

In accordance with this general view of his subject's life, M. Waltz has divided his work into four books, of which the first, *La Première Carrière de Sénèque*, brings us to the end of Seneca's exile in 49 A.D.;

the second, *Acheminement vers le Pouvoir*, closes with the year 55, in which by the murder of Britannicus and the repression of Agrippina Nero sought to secure his imperial position; the third, *Le Ministère de Sénèque*, discusses in much detail the character of the government as directed by Seneca, down to 59 A.D., which year probably marks the high tide of the minister's influence and prosperity; the fourth, *La Retraite de Sénèque*, carries us through Seneca's dismissal to his death in 65.

The work is clearly written in a graceful style. The author shows himself well acquainted with his sources, accurate, and careful; but, as he says in his introduction, he has given little attention to criticism of his authorities, accepting their statements freely, endeavoring to reconcile their contradictions when possible, when not, to present their divergent views impartially, unless confident that one account is to be preferred. M. Waltz's final estimate of Seneca is decidedly more favorable than that generally given; indeed at times he is almost panegyric. But Seneca's obvious weaknesses will probably continue to determine men's judgment against him. Nevertheless, M. Waltz is largely right in regarding him as the natural successor of Augustus in his endeavors to secure personal liberty, supremacy of law, and the independence of the senate. The example of Augustus, however, was far from being the only or even the main spring of Seneca's efforts; and certainly the kindly rule of the Antonines was not chiefly determined by Seneca's ministry, as M. Waltz implies, but by a multitude of influences, of which Seneca was only one.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*The Development of Hungarian Constitutional Liberty.* By Count JULIUS ANDRÁSSY. Translated from the Hungarian by C. ARTHUR and ILONA GINEVER. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, Ltd. 1908. Pp. v, 465.)

ONE cannot help wondering just what public Count Julius Andrássy had in mind when he wrote the above work and still more for whom the translation was designed. Presumably not the general reader, as it takes for granted a very considerable preliminary knowledge of both English and Hungarian constitutional history—an accomplishment which is rather uncommon at least among English-speaking peoples. Without this knowledge it is hard to follow the author, for what he has given us is not a continuous narrative, but a succession of assertions based on facts which he mentions without describing, presupposing our familiarity with men and events. As the style is prolix not to say turgid, the book is wearisome reading; indeed it is one of those where he who forgets to put in his book-mark when he stops is likely to be sorry when he takes the volume up again. On the other hand, it is hardly meant for

the specialist, as the treatment of the subject cannot be called scholarly. The work abounds in loose assumptions and in conclusions based on facts, many of which are either of doubtful exactness or capable of being interpreted in another way. The whole tone is not scientific but popular-patriotic. No people, indeed, are more intensely patriotic than the Hungarians and they seem to find it harder even than the rest of us to discuss without strong bias anything relating to their country. For this we have to make allowances, but even patriotism does not excuse a writer for inflicting on us rhetorical commonplaces of a general nature such as: "A tyrant sees a culprit even in an innocent man and does all in his power to remove from his path anyone who is likely to be dangerous, but he who builds a golden bridge over which the unfaithful may return to him, is evidently guided by other motives than a desire for absolute power. . . . One of the greatest disadvantages of a monarchical or aristocratic régime is that political power is sometimes conferred by inheritance upon unsuitable men. . . . A great man is a rare gift of Providence. Mortals simply do not know what influences create and mould him." And there are dozens of other examples of this sort.

It has often been pointed out, especially by Hungarians, that there is a certain analogy between English and Hungarian constitutional history. A comparative study of the two in English is well worth while, and Count Andrassy's book, the larger part of which is taken up with this comparison, is, if not convincing, at least thoughtful and full of suggestions. Many of his statements are open to challenge but it would take a volume bulkier than his own to discuss them in detail. As might be expected he finds similarities and overlooks differences wherever it is possible. We can see that he strives to be fair as well as philosophic but his love of generalizing is a constant source of irritation to the reader. One country he refers to less than he well might, the one whose constitutional growth was up to a certain point most like that of Hungary, namely Poland. The later history of the two has indeed been different, but especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries their development was much the same. In truth if we take them for comparison early in the sixteenth century when they were under the rule of the brothers Wladislaw and Sigismund of the Jagello family we are struck by the similarity of their institutions and of their general conditions. In both by this time the power of the contending factions, that is to say the magnates and the gentry, overshadowed that of the crown and was tending towards aristocratic anarchy. There was little to choose between the two countries in the outlook for the future of their constitutional development. But the destinies of Hungary were violently changed by the battle of Mohács, the conquest of one part of the land by the Turks, and the establishment of the tenacious sovereignty of the Hapsburgs over the rest. Thenceforward no analogies with England, Poland or any other country are particularly fruitful.

After battling bravely for their liberties and losing them more than once the Hungarians have now regained them again, so much so that they are in a position to limit those of others. It is characteristic of the Magyar way of ignoring such questions that Count Andrassy makes only the scantiest possible reference to the other nationalities in Hungary, their history, their complaints, and their aspirations, although this subject is by far the most important one in Hungarian politics at the present day. It is true that his book deals with Hungarian liberty not Croatian or Roumanian or Slovak, and that historically these can be left to the second volume which we are told he intends to write.

In conclusion we wish to protest against the attempt to force Magyar names on the foreign reader in place of those which have been generally accepted by the outside world. It is all very well in the Hungarian original to talk of the "Archbishop of Esztergom" and the defenders of "Köszeg" but an English translation if it wishes people to know what it is talking about should at least add "Gran" and "Güns" in parentheses.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

*La Société Française au Temps de Philippe-Auguste.* Par ACHILLE LUCHAIRE, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1909. Pp. iii, 459.)

FROM 1895 to 1900 M. Luchaire gave courses at the Sorbonne on the period of Philip Augustus preparatory to writing a complete history of the reign of that monarch and then, when the results of these studies might have been expected to appear in print, suddenly abandoned his design and devoted his efforts to the well-known series on Innocent III. The reason for this deviation was without doubt the appearance of the first fascicules of Cartellieri's *Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich*; it was a question whether Cartellieri's work would not make another superfluous. Time showed that social history remained outside of the domain of Cartellieri and this gap Luchaire undertook to fill. He had printed several articles of this nature and had prepared the manuscript of others when he was overtaken by death. These printed and unprinted materials have been arranged, given the final touch, and published by Louis Halphen, one of Luchaire's former students, in the volume under review.

The subject-matter of the book is best seen from the chapter-headings: I. *État Matériel et Moral de la Population*; II. *Paroisses et Curés*; III. *L'Étudiant*; IV. *Le Chanoine*; V. *L'Évêque*; VI. *L'Esprit Monastique*; VII. *La Vie Monastique*; VIII. *La Féodalité Pillarde et Sanguinaire*; IX. *Le Noble en Temps de Paix*; X. *Les Budgets Seigneuriaux*; *Le Chevalerie*; XI. *La Chatelaine*; XII. *La Courtoisie et la Noblesse Courtoise*; XIII. *Les Paysans et les Bourgeois*. The volume sticks scrupulously to the field designated by its title: "France under Philip Augustus". If now and then it reaches beyond the limits of the reign of Philip or the

confines of France, it is always because the subject under discussion crosses those limits. The style and the method are those of the author's volumes on Innocent III. A great part of the fluent text consists of interesting and well-chosen quotations translated from the sources. At every point the author convinces the reader that he not only knew but was intimate with the sources; and the sources in this instance are more inclusive than is usual. Not only documents and chronicles, but *chansons des gestes*, sermons, pictures, coins, heraldic devices, inscriptions, and architecture are brought into requisition. *Chansons des gestes* especially are employed, but critically, for invariably these medieval lays are compared with and tested by the statements of documents and chronicles. Indeed no phase of the work gives one such respect for Luchaire's mastery of his field as the way in which he determines what parts of these *chansons* are true history and the use he makes of them to picture the times.

And what an excellent picture! In it one may see all the classes and ranks of society, may observe their habits and deeds, and learn the motives which move them. One may enter into the privacy of their homes, may examine their dress, wonder at their conceptions of morality, and discover the state of their purses. One may find the cleric's opinion of the noble, the noble's opinion of the ecclesiast, and the opinion of both concerning women. In short, one finds life, and the way in which Luchaire has known how to vivify what is commonly called the dead past will do as much as anything to make his memory live. The past dead? Not entirely when one finds in it, as in the present, preachers inveighing against the follies of women (pp. 221, 224, 376), the question of tainted money (p. 232), the rudiments of socialism (p. 294), and, what is not to be wondered at in an age of faith, evidences of our own modern psycho-therapeutics (p. 222). Are not the sentiments of Guyot written six hundred years ago as interesting as though written yesterday? "When I am sick I am glad to have doctors brought in; their presence does me good. But when my malady leaves me, I would have a galley transport them straight to Salonika, them and their drugs, so far that they may never again be seen" (p. 222).

Luchaire's impartiality toward his subjects is noteworthy. It is not likely, indeed, that his picture of the Middle Ages will please those who are champions of that period, but here the age and not Luchaire must take the blame. Sometimes, indeed, he indulges in sly and gentle satire, as, when in writing of capitular banquets he states: "Ces agapes faisaient la joie de nos pères. Il était doux de manger et de boire, dans le lieu saint, sous l'œil de Dieu" (p. 124). But such instances are few and innocent.

This book is Luchaire's most interesting work, and, when *Kulturgeschichte* comes to its own, this volume will be a reference work of the first order, if not a text. In the meantime it will be widely read by that culture-loving public for whom it was designed.

EDWARD B. KREHBIEL.

*Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy.* Tome Premier. Publié par JOS. HALKIN, Professeur à l'Université de Liège, et C.-G. ROLAND, Chanoine titulaire de la Cathédrale de Namur. [Commission Royale d'Histoire, Académie Royale de Belgique.] (Bruxelles: Librairie Kiessling et Cie., P. Imbreghts, successeur. 1909. Pp. lxxvi, 648.)

THE Benedictine abbey of Stavelot-Malmedy, founded in the seventh century, had fortunes which make its charters of much historical worth. For one thing, it acquired many possessions. Before 1200 it held rights in upwards of two hundred and sixty places, most of them in the region south of Liège and east of the Meuse, some as far away as the Rhine, a few still more distant. For another, it encountered many troubles, largely because of its wealth. It had to accept lay abbots and fell prey to Norman invaders and other despoilers. Its double foundation opened the way to schism; Malmedy wished to be autonomous, under an abbot of its own, not linked with Stavelot. Such experiences gave rise to numerous documents. Acquisitions and other transactions relating to property had to be assured by a writing. In time of trouble appeals were sent to bishops and seigniors, even to popes, kings, and emperors; and all made answer of some sort. Sometimes, under special stress, false pieces were constructed. In turn, these documents should be expected to throw much light not only on the history of two monasteries but as well on religious, social, and political conditions in eastern Belgium, from the Merovingian period.

Thus far, however, students have not been able to make use of the Stavelot-Malmedy charters, save a relatively small number of them, and these in more or less untrustworthy form. Martène and Durand published a hundred and six in the second volume of their *Amplissima Collectio*, in 1724; but they gave only a selection of pieces (based it would seem on the rank of their authors), which went beyond the twelfth century in only thirteen cases and depended mostly on a cartulary of the late sixteenth century. Just a hundred years later Wilhelm Ritz brought out in his *Urkunden und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Niederrheins und der Niedermaas* forty-eight more of the charters, running from 748 to 1105. He relied on the oldest cartulary of the abbey but left some twenty-five pieces it contained still in obscurity and gave a miserable text of those he set forth. More recently (1872) Pertz included fourteen of the earlier pieces in the first volume of the *Diplomata Imperii* in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*; but his editing has proved faulty. It was clearly desirable, then, to have an edition of the Stavelot material which should be both as complete as possible and trustworthy.

The volume under notice forms the first installment of an edition with such aims. It comes only after long preparation. M. Halkin began by making an *Inventaire des Archives de l'Abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy conservées à Dusseldorf, Bruxelles, Liège, Londres, Berlin,*



*Paris, Hanau, etc.*, which he published as long ago as 1897. On the basis of the widely dispersed sources there indicated and of some discovered since, he and M. Roland have now brought out near three hundred pieces for the period extending to the end of the twelfth century. Among them are twenty-four from popes, fifty-four from sovereigns, twelve from bishops and archbishops, and ninety-nine from the abbots of Stavelot. Each piece is accompanied by an analysis, definite indications of the manuscripts utilized and of previous editions and analyses, and a list of variants. Where there is reasonable occasion notes are added, either concerning the authenticity, date or object of the act, or explanatory of points in the text. Special attention is given to the identification of place names. Preceding all is an introduction which contains besides other useful matter a carefully determined list of the abbots to 1210. Toward the end are a glossary of least common or obscure terms, a table of the documents according to their origin, an exceptionally convenient index of names, a list of corrections and additions, and a map showing names of places and water-courses and in what localities the abbey had possessions. From beginning to end this first volume exhibits both a clear sense of the use of such work, and unremitting care. It is model editing and promises well for our having in due time a thoroughly satisfactory collection of the Stavelot-Malmedy charters.

EARLE W. DOW.

*Les Sources de l'Histoire de France, XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle (1494-1610)*. Par HENRI HAUSER, Professeur à l'Université de Dijon. Volume II. *François I<sup>er</sup> et Henri II. (1515-1559)*. [Manuels de Bibliographie Historique, III.] (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1909. Pp. xv, 201, 6.)

M. HAUSER apologizes for the fact that owing to "raisons indépendantes de ma volonté" three years have elapsed between the first and second parts of this work. One who knows the difficulties of bibliographical research in the history of France of the sixteenth century will gladly grant him absolution.

The volume and variety of material of an historical or semi-historical nature produced in France in the sixteenth century was very great. The old fashioned chronicle disappeared. The Renaissance had introduced new interests, new standards, new methods, at the same time that the expansion of the French monarchy under Francis I. enormously widened the crown's sphere of activity.

French diplomacy before the time of Francis I. was intermittent and occasional. It was this king who organized the diplomatic corps of the French monarchy. Aside from the accredited ambassadors at Vienna, Madrid, London, Venice, Rome, etc., there was a multitude of special ambassadors, secret agents, etc., spread like a net over the face of Europe, from Scotland to Constantinople.



The dominant foreign politics of France before 1559 not merely enlarged enormously the mass of diplomatic papers, but practically makes it necessary for the bibliographer to include much of the historical materials of other countries in such a survey as this. A glance at the section "Sources Étrangères", in which there are 138 numbers, will show this. Spanish politics, German politics, Levantine politics, are important fields of the historiographer's interest. While Italian sources retain their former importance, the German and Spanish sources acquire an increasing value.

The laicizing of politics is another striking fact of the reign, of interest to the historiographer. Laymen, rivalled or supplanted churchmen as diplomats and statesmen, and left memoirs to supplement the huge volume of documents which diplomacy created. No other form of the historical literature of the time requires greater caution on the part of the student. This observation is particularly true of the *mémoires-journaux*, which were partly reminiscences, partly collections of documents, not all of them genuine, and many of them garbled. Most of the memoirs were written late in the lives of their authors and often under difficult conditions, *e. g.*, Montluc. All of them naturally were strongly biassed. Those of De Thou and La Noue are notable exceptions to this statement. Their lack of literary form is often no less remarkable. When doughty fighters like Montluc took up the pen, they often produced strange results.

The difficulties of the bibliographer do not diminish in proportion as he advances. Some material, like Brantôme and Rabelais, hovers on the penumbra between history and literature (see nos. 873-881 *bis*). French prose was struggling to be free from the yoke of the Renaissance. The tyranny of the Latin tongue, in spite of the monumental work of De Thou, was an anachronism, for the French language had risen to the dignity of history.

Again, the activity in French legal history was very great, for the new scholarship gave birth to legists, publicists, political theorists. The redaction of the *Coutumes* created a whole literature of an important historical nature, and the activity of the legists was imitated by canonists, genealogists, and provincial historians. For the first time also tracts, pamphlets, and even books, notably those of Bodin, of an economic nature appear in the field. The printing-press poured forth a stream of historical material unknown earlier. One group of such material is particularly difficult to classify; these are the *plaquettes*. The activity of the political press was prodigious and religious polemic added new fuel. These pamphlets are so numerous and of such infinite variety that they almost elude classification. But no one familiar with M. Hauser's attainments will doubt that he has most competently arranged and classified the complex historical materials of the intricate period of Francis I. and Henry II.

Much and good work has been done upon the history of the religious wars. But the preceding period has been barely touched. Save

the volumes by M. Lemonnier in Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, no authoritative history of the reigns of Francis I. or of Henry II. exists. The path to such a work is now clear. With this admirable monograph to guide his researches, it is to be hoped that some historian soon will undertake such a volume—or volumes.

It may be added that M. Hauser has missed the fact that the history of De Thou (no. 778) was also printed at the Hague in 1740 in eleven volumes, and that an English translation of books I.-XXV. was made by Bernard Wilson (London, 1730, 2 volumes).

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

*Iconographie Calvinienne.* Ouvrage dédié à l'Université de Genève.

Par E. DOUMERGUE, Doyen de la Faculté Libre de Théologie Protestante de Montauban. (Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie. 1909. Pp. vii, 280.)

THIS album of Calvin's likenesses, which is inscribed to his still living daughter, his university, was the contribution of Professor Doumergue in the double jubilee which Geneva celebrated during the first weeks of July, 1909: the Reformer's fourth centennial and the 350th anniversary of the foundation of his famous school. The book, which contains twenty-six full-sized phototypes and seventy-six engravings, is in every sense worthy of the author and publishers and of the occasion. Special subscriptions made it possible to place it on the market at a price which ought to insure a wide circulation.

Calvin's portraits, which his eminent biographer has collected and studied and now publishes with sagacious comments, will spread knowledge of the real physiognomy of the great Reformer, concerning which many mistaken notions have been and still are current. The Calvin of the tradition has a pale, yellow, emaciated face, taken from an old but bad oil-painting in the Geneva Public Library. That portrait was badly touched up and varnished in 1775 and besides is not an original. It presents the Calvin of the very last years, perhaps the last days, of his life. History has desired to know the man in his middle age, if not in his prime, who began to be known as Geneva's reformer before he was thirty. One may safely say that man is now before us.

Professor Doumergue's inquiries in private as well as public art galleries and libraries in France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland have enabled him to bring forward a dozen typical likenesses, all of which can be dated as of the sixteenth century, all connected by evident resemblance, and which most likely correspond to the several phases of Calvin's life. In this precious series he emphasizes the value of three oil-portraits. Two of the same, in Rotterdam and in Basle, being probably copies of a lost original, represent the Reformer in the middle of life. The third one is of the latter years but taken direct from the model and of proved authenticity. It was given by Calvin himself to his successor Beza and remained in Beza's family. The excellent wood-cut inserted in Beza's *Icones* (1580) is obviously a copy of the same.

Among the contemporaneous engravings, which are of great importance when signed or attributable and dated or datable, one ought to especially mention that of 1559, another of 1562 by René Boyvin, and the one executed in 1566 by Woeiriot for presentation by Beza to Renée de France, duchess of Ferrara, along with an edition of the *Opuscula* of their late friend. The likeness of 1559, a woodcut, was probably engraved at Geneva and has some relation with the founding of Calvin's Academy which was inaugurated that year. Another highly interesting document of the same epoch is the finely penned sketch by a student of 1564 representing his professor when lecturing from the pulpit.<sup>1a</sup>

A copiously illustrated essay on religious caricature and satire during the sixteenth century, along with two very useful catalogues of engraved portraits and medals concerning Calvin and his times, complete the remarkable volume, a presentation copy of which has been sent by the rector and senate of the University of Geneva, in remembrance of the jubilee, to every doctor *honoris causa* on whom a degree was conferred on that occasion.

CHARLES BORGEAUD.

*Luther und Lutherthum in der ersten Entwicklung* quellenmässig dargestellt von H. DENIFLE, O.P., und A. M. WEISS, O.P. (Mainz: Kirchheim.) I. Hauptband. I. Abt. 2d edition, 1904 (pp. xxx, 422). II. Abt. 2d edition by Weiss, 1906 (pp. xi, 486, xxiv). I. Ergänzungsband. *Die abendländischen Schriftausleger bis Luther über Justitia Dei (Rom. I, 17) und Justificatio* (1905, pp. xx, 380). II. Ergänzungsband. (Weiss.) *Lutherpsychologie als Schlüssel zur Lutherlegende*. 2d edition, 1906 (pp. xiv, 310). II. Hauptband. (Weiss.) 1909 (pp. xvi, 514).

WHEN Father Denifle approached the study of Luther he had long been well known for the profundity of his researches in mediæval scholasticism and the history of universities. Evincing the same thoroughness in the new work that had distinguished him in the old, he began his first volume with a severe criticism of the great Weimar edition of Luther's works now coming out,<sup>1</sup> a publication on which the best scholarship has been employed. Denifle was able, however, to point out a number of omissions and mistakes, due chiefly to the editors' comparative ignorance of mediæval writers, a field in which his

<sup>1a</sup> The student's sketch or sketches—there are several—and the portrait by the French engraver, René Boyvin, were first identified and published in the *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, vol. I, *L'Académie de Calvin* (1900). The woodcut of 1559, which I found at the Library of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français in Paris soon after the appearance of that volume, was given last year in my *1559: Pages d'Histoire Universitaire réunies à l'Occasion du Jubilé* (Genève, Georg et Cie., 1908, pp. 69).

<sup>1</sup> *Luthers Sämmtliche Werke*, Kritische Ausgabe von Knaake und Anders (Weimar, 1883). Denifle's criticism occupies pp. 30-54 of his first volume. The edition now takes Luther's works down to 1532, with some omissions.

own erudition was so extensive that he could say, "the simplest things are beyond these editors."

The Catholic scholar's work is not a biography, but a series of essays on those aspects of the reformer's life and teaching most susceptible to hostile interpretation. Most of his charges are the old familiar ones: Luther's attitude on the Peasants' War, on the bigamy of Philip of Hesse, his coarseness, his supposed drunkenness<sup>2</sup> and sensuality,<sup>3</sup> but they have never been canvassed with such merciless thoroughness. The book is a day of judgment in which Luther is called to account for every idle word and he said many. Nay more, an appeal is made to modern criminology to show that the reformer's face is of the "criminal type".

What is new in Denifle is his study of the sources of Luther's thought in medieval theology. In this department the author is unequalled, and both in his main volumes and in the supplementary one he makes an extremely important contribution to the knowledge of the subject.<sup>4</sup>

On June 10, 1905, the great scholar died, largely through the effect of overwork. "Luther has killed me", he wrote a friend on October 17, 1903. The pen which fell from his hand was taken up, as a pious duty, by his friend and fellow-friar, Father Weiss. After completing the revision of Denifle's work already begun by the latter, and, among other improvements, softening the uncommon acrimony of many expressions, Weiss supplemented it with two volumes of his own. The first of these,

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I., pp. 112-113, especially the latter, note 4. Denifle makes much of a letter from Luther to Müller, March 18, 1535 (Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel* (1903), vol. X., p. 137), now in the Vatican archives. The unclearness with which the signature is written has caused a lively controversy over its reading. According to Evers, the first editor of the letter (1885), Denifle, and Enders, Luther signed himself "Dr. Plenus"; E. Kroker, *Katharina von Bora* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 278, reads "Dr. Hans", referring it to Luther's son; G. Kawerau, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Jahrgang 1908, Heft 4, p. 603, reads "Dr. Pleures", though he can give no sense to the word; K. Löffler in *Historische Jahrbücher*, vol. XXX. (1909), Heft 1, reads "Dr. Parvus", referring it to Luther's son. I have myself seen an excellent photograph of the letter, and consider "Plenus", "Plures" or "Johannes", possibilities, but neither "Hans" nor "Parvus". According to Denifle Luther signed himself "Dr. Full" in reference to the intoxicated state in which he wrote the letter. He also suggests that Luther's numerous illnesses were due to his fondness for liquor. This is possible but does not prove the man a drunkard.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I., p. 283. His strongest argument is from the letter to Spalatin, April 15, 1525 (Enders, *op. cit.*, vol. V. (1893), p. 157). Denifle tries to show that the damning words "misceci feminis" are always used by Luther elsewhere in a bad sense. Protestant historians take them, in this letter, as a joke.

<sup>4</sup> It might be objected that Denifle assumes Luther to have been mainly a scholastic theologian instead of what he was, a representative of the common German Catholic of his time. (See especially vol. II., p. 582, note 2.) This consideration may indeed lead us to dissent from the strictures of the author who accuses Luther of gross ignorance and wilful perversion of his predecessors, but it hardly affects the value of his researches.

the *Lutherpsychologie*, is an appreciation and a portrait. The writer first proves that in this study a Catholic is much more unprejudiced than a Protestant, who sees not the real Luther, but the hero of the Luther-legend; the author's own impartiality is shown by his statement that he "knows but one Church, expressed in the single word Pope". Whatever is outside this church is neither Christianity nor religion; his unbiassed estimate assumes, therefore, the character of that style of argument known as begging the question. As to the portrait it is Hamlet with the prince left out, a picture in which many a single feature is caught but the animating soul forgotten. Moreover, the whole work of Weiss is superficial and ill written. Of his habitual carelessness, or worse, in the use of sources, a characteristic example may be given. By combining three separate reports in the table-talk<sup>5</sup> he concocts a story proving Luther's gluttony and drunkenness. Among other things the Wittenberg professor tells of some men who have died of hunger and adds: "ich denke mich dabei an meine Altersgenossen von 50 Jahren; o wie dünn sind sie!" The modern writer comments: "es scheint, dass Luther einen Tonnenumfang für eine besondere Zierde oder ein grosses Glück betrachtet habe." Had he examined the context from which these words are taken he would have seen that the clause "wie dünn sind sie" could only mean "how few they are now."

The last volume of this Polyphemus-like work is not a detailed study of Luther but an attempt to arrive at a comprehensive view of his environment. The first chapter, on the antecedents of the Reformation, agrees with the Protestant historians in finding a main cause in the prevalent immorality of the time, but differs from them in the part assigned to the movement itself, which is described as the "cloaca maxima" of these evils, the great drain-pipe which carried them out of the Church. The characteristics of Lutheranism from 1517 to 1521 are found to be individualism and anarchy; after the Diet of Worms it underwent a reaction (*Rückbildung*) due to its leader's remorse and fear of consequences (compunctions which he designated as apparitions of the devil). After 1530 Lutheranism as a separate entity was lost in the larger movement of Protestantism which it poisoned with its spirit of hatred to Rome. The fifth and next to the last chapter returns to the sources of Luther's doctrine, which it finds in a mixture of German "atavism" and an importation of foreign heresies, chiefly those of Huss, of Wycliffe, and, worst of all, of Occam. This chapter has behind it some real study of the sources and suggests some of the influences which actually combined to form Luther's character and dogma. But in general the work of Weiss is almost useless to the student, who can learn a vast deal from Denifle.

PRESERVED SMITH.

<sup>5</sup> *Lutherpsychologie*, p. 188. His sources are three sayings, found in Seidemann: *Lauterbach's Tagebuch auf das Jahr 1538* (Dresden, 1872), p. 33, p. 51 and note.

*Madame, Mother of the Regent, 1652-1722.* By ARVÈDE BARINE.

Translated by JEANNE MAIRET (Madame Charles Bigot). (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1909. Pp. xi, 346.)

THE lady, who wrote under the name of Arvède Barine, has published several works in reference to the French court in the days of Louis XIV. In the last of them she reviews the career of Madame, Mother of the Regent, who married the brother of Louis XIV., and for more than fifty years was a prominent member of the society, whose centre was Versailles, and the cynosure of whose eyes was Louis XIV.

This book does not profess to be a serious historical work, and we cannot expect in it the strict and accurate scholarship that would be demanded in a history of a different kind. It is just, however, to say that Madame Vincens was thoroughly familiar with the period and had studied most of the memoirs and correspondence which have to do with her heroine.

A heroine, indeed, the Duchess of Orleans never was, not even to a biographer. She was a daughter of Carl Ludwig, Elector Palatine, a prince of by no means an exalted character, and she received the training of a petty German court. Probably, not even in Europe at that period, was it possible to have a worse one. For such a personage the great problem of life was marriage, and Charlotte, Countess Palatine of the Rhine, was fortunate or unfortunate enough, to make what, in those days, was regarded as a great alliance. At the age of nineteen she was married to the Duke of Orleans, the younger brother of Louis XIV., and she occupied a distinguished position in the court, which was then regarded as the political as well as the social centre of Europe. Her husband was a very poor personage, and their long married life was attended by about the amount of unhappiness that was found in most similar alliances.

This work pays little heed to the political history of the time, but it gives a fairly accurate picture of the curious society in which Madame was a great personage. The story is pleasantly told, it is gossipy, and much of the gossip is interesting. Madame was one of the most prolific letter-writers the world has ever known, all her life long she was constantly sending off voluminous epistles to her German relatives; they contain a prodigious amount of gossip and a good deal of interesting information.

The splendor and the discomfort of the life at Versailles, the unwearied pursuit of amusement, the virtues and vices of those who formed the court of Louis XIV., in which it is to be feared the vices predominated, are related in the correspondence which furnishes the most important material for the life of the writer. Madame writes of sitting in her room at Versailles with a fur about her neck and her feet in a bear-skin bag and shaking with the cold. She describes the routine of her own days at the Palais Royal. They got up at half past ten and went to mass at twelve, after which they gossiped. It



is to be feared the gossip sometimes interfered with the service. Another duchess, one of Madame's German kinspeople, complains that she cannot finish her letter in church, because the duke is making such a noise reading aloud a comedy. Even in France, if the manners were better, the devotion was no more sincere. At two the members of the household went to the table and there they were until half past five. It was a time of heavy eating and heavy drinking. Louis XIV. ate amounts that seem to us appalling, and though Madame abused French dishes, she partook profusely of them. After dinner visitors strolled in, sometimes there was an opera, and almost always there was gambling. It could not be called a refined society, but its records are not without interest, and the history of any social life, whether more or less edifying, has its value.

There are inaccuracies in this book and some exaggerations. The condition of the Palatinate was bad in the seventeenth century, but our author is wrong in saying that there could be found there cook-houses exclusively devoted to human flesh, and that cannibalism was prevalent. The errors are not of large importance.

On the whole, this book gives a fair account of the career of a woman who held an important place in the world, and who was an active-minded and not an unimportant personage.

JAMES BRECK PERKINS.

*Mirabeau and the French Revolution.* In three volumes. By FRED MORROW FLING, Ph.D., Professor of European History in the University of Nebraska. Volume I. *The Youth of Mirabeau.* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1908. Pp. xv, 497.)

THIS book is the work of an historian whose standard of scholarship is of the highest and whose critical methods are thoroughly scientific. He has had access to all the material which could assist him in procuring a complete knowledge of his subject, has rigorously criticized his sources, and has formed his own judgments. He has consequently produced a scholarly and conscientious study of great merit.

It is extremely difficult to write the story of Mirabeau's youth. Almost all the evidence we possess in regard to it comes either from himself, from his father, or from his uncle, and therefore it is unreliable. Not only so, but it is inadequate. There are many questions to which this material furnishes no answer. Again, we find a difficulty in the character of all the witnesses. There is only one who is thoroughly trustworthy—the *bailli*. In his judgments drawn from this material, it is not to be expected that Fling will always be right, and he is not. He is at his best when he treats of the relations between father and son. Here, on the whole, his method is certain and his conclusions are sound. His use of sources is well illustrated by his attitude towards Montigny's



*Memoirs of Mirabeau.* He refuses to quote them as being sufficient authority in themselves. He is quite as sound and deserves equal praise for his method of handling the material furnished by the father and the son. He declines to adopt the view of either as being the whole truth, and his skill in the use of the contradictory material furnished by these two is remarkable. He gives his verdict only when he is able to establish a strong case, and refuses to be drawn into guesses or hasty conclusions. Not only so, but he has proved conclusively that the marquis did not hate his son during Mirabeau's childhood. He gives the first really credible narrative of their relations during the boy's early years, and makes it easier to understand how the dislike of the father for the son took root and grew. Similarly, he has described Mirabeau's character with skill and, it seems to me, with truth.

Fling is anxious to give a full account of the paternal antecedents of Mirabeau in order to the understanding of Mirabeau himself. "To speak of him without speaking of them, would be a useless undertaking." This is true, but is it not equally true that an examination of his mother's antecedents would have been even more to the point? It is certain that Mirabeau resembled his mother, and his maternal grandfather, much more than he did his father. He resembled the maternal stock physically, mentally, and, one might add, morally, were it not that both stocks were equally immoral. Mirabeau's habits of speech, his conversation, his intellectual overexcitement, his slovenliness of dress, his face and figure, his hopeless extravagance in money matters, his lack of reserve and of modesty, his warm heart, are all characteristic of the mother rather than of the father. Hence, the aversion of his father and of his paternal grandmother for him. A study of his mother's qualities and of her family are therefore more important for the understanding of his character than any study of his paternal ancestry.

It would seem advisable, too, to call attention to a strain of something like insanity on both sides of the family. The marquis's mother became insane before her death; the marquis was eccentric, to the say the least, his youngest brother acted like a madman in his earlier youth, Mirabeau's mother and his youngest sister certainly act like maniacs, his eldest sister was entirely out of her senses, the marquis declared that "the visor of the mind of his mother-in-law was not quite straight." At times he considered Mirabeau himself a maniac, and in moments of passion Mirabeau comported himself so as to give ground for the belief. In brief, the family is far from being normal, a fact which probably explains many things which are otherwise dark.

The author's first chapter seems to me quite unnecessary. It is entitled the Struggle against Arbitrary Government. I do not believe the discussion it contains in any way essential to the understanding of Mirabeau's position later. Nor is it an adequate discussion of the

subject. Nor is it sufficient for an understanding of what the struggle against arbitrary government really included. It would have been better to omit it, taking for granted that readers of a really scholarly work like this would be sufficiently informed about the matter.

One can approve heartily Fling's contention that an historian has no business to pose as a critic of human actions. The pity of it is that a writer of a biography such as this cannot help himself. It is easy enough to see that Fling has a bias in spite of his good intentions. He sympathizes with the marquis against his wife, and he sympathizes with Mirabeau against his father. Fling is well aware that our knowledge of the wife is based almost entirely on evidence furnished by her enemies, and that it is not contemporaneous evidence. He warns his reader of this fact, assuring him that as a consequence this evidence is not entirely trustworthy. He then proceeds, however, to use it as if it were so. He describes the character of the marquise in the language of the husband and of the brother-in-law and concludes that she was "truly an impossible creature". He would have been just as thoroughly justified if he had said of the marquis "he was truly an impossible creature." On the marquis's own showing, he never loved his wife, while she did love him; he despised her; he never attempted to make her life easy; he compelled her to live under the same roof with his mother, though, as he admitted, the two women could not live together a week without his presence in the house; after twenty years of married life, and after she had borne him eleven children, he shut his door on her, without deigning to give any reason; moreover, he never made any effort to remain true to his marriage vow, and, long before turning off his wife, had given his whole heart to another woman; he tried to get possession of his wife's property even while he refused to permit her to live in his house, and while he was squandering his means and her means upon her rival; failing to find in her a willing victim, he had her imprisoned by *lettre de cachet*, and finally, to add baseness to baseness, he meanly complained that he had reared five children and had never received as much of her fortune as he felt he should have received. When it is added that the marquis married her when she was but seventeen, it will seem just to apply to the case the judgment of Mirabeau on his sister's marriage: "I have no doubt that a man of honour and judgment, in love with her, would have been able to restrain her mind and set her heart right." That sentence is the condemnation of the marquis in his relations with his wife.

Though one may believe that the marquis in his relations with his son was the greater offender of the two, it is a little difficult to lay the entire responsibility upon the shoulders of the father. Fling, however, seems to think this is just. "From his birth to his death", he says, "Mirabeau was the victim of his father's well-meant, but ill-judged speculations." This sentence illustrates the treatment of father and son all through. The responsibility is the father's. But it should be

evident that this belittles Mirabeau. He could have been nothing but a puppet, if his father was the really responsible person. Even after Mirabeau is married, at the age of twenty-four, Fling seems to think that the father is somehow to blame for what happened. Mirabeau begins married life with an income small enough, but adequate if he had been willing to live on a moderate scale. But this is the last thing he thinks of. He borrows 200,000 francs in a little over fifteen months, he borrows it from usurers, from his friends, from day laborers, parish priests, tradesmen, anyone that will lend, creating a debt twice as great as the sum which he gets into his hands; then he squanders this money in a manner which is little less than insane. Yet, when Loménie holds Mirabeau responsible as a consequence, for his own ruin, for becoming virtually an outcast from the society into which he was born, Fling objects.

In one respect the author seems to have been untrue to his scientific critical method. This is in his use of the marquis's narrative of his father's life. This material seems to me thoroughly unreliable. Loménie points out that it is not to be used without caution, yet neither Loménie nor Fling show any particular caution in using it. The stories about Jean Antoine strain credulity to the utmost, and there does not seem to be the least corroboration for them.

What strikes a reader as remarkable is Fling's belief that the *mariage de convenance* was in some way to blame for the misfortunes of the Mirabeau family. The marquis's "whole life", he declares, "had been wrecked by a *mariage de convenance*". Does he suppose that "the impossible woman" would have been less impossible if it had been a love match? Would "the twenty years of nephritic colic" have disappeared? Would love have been a safer guide to follow in the case of the marquis than his desire for property? Would such a match have transformed the character of the marquis? Would he have been less foolish in his business speculations? What a *mariage de convenance* has to do with the real sins of the marquis and his son it would be hard to say, and Fling has satisfied himself with asserting the connection instead of proving it.

I cannot share Professor Fling's opinion of the importance of the *Essay on Despotism*. It is just such a pamphlet as was common at the time. Marat's *Chains of Slavery* which appeared in 1774 has a family likeness to Mirabeau's production of the same year. There is not much besides declamation in either of them. The *Essay* is feeble, and it is not original. It certainly does not call for so extensive a treatment as is here accorded to it; and certainly does not deserve quotation at such length. The last chapter is almost entirely quotation and is the poorest chapter in the book.

There is a number of minor criticisms. The motive implied for Mirabeau's hatred of despotism, namely that he had suffered from the despotism of his father, does not seem to rest on anything. Mirabeau's

cowardly and brutal attack on a defenseless old man deserves some more fitting comment than that of being "not a very serious matter"; Mirabeau's furious quarrels with his wife, in one of which he struck her, should hardly be set down "as nothing but passing storms, such storms as naturally pass over Provençal households and leave no trace behind them". It is incorrect to say that Mirabeau's light-heartedness in incurring debt was not a marked trait in 1770, when his father asserts in 1769 that "he has, in addition to his other good qualities, that of borrowing from all hands." Fling seems to consider French feet and English feet equivalent, since he always carries the same figures over from the French text. As a consequence, he speaks of Mirabeau as "below the average height". Mirabeau was over five feet eleven inches in height. The translations are not always accurate. Instances will be found on pages 9, 13, 80, 115, and 338. *Prétendu* does not ordinarily mean pretended; *injurer* is most frequently insult, *esprit* should usually be translated intellect; Bohemian is gypsy. Fling should be consistent, and say Mont-Dore or Mont d'Or, but not use both forms; he should use English equivalents for *roture*, *économisme*, *arrhes*, *malaise*, and especially for *jauno* and *jaunerie*, which to-day need explanation even for a Frenchman. Finally, his English style is lacking in both clearness and force.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

*L'Assistance et l'État en France à la Veille de la Révolution* (Généralités de Paris, Rouen, Alençon, Orléans, Chalons, Soissons, Amiens, 1764-1790). Par CAMILLE BLOCH, Inspecteur Général des Bibliothèques et des Archives, Docteur ès-Lettres. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1908. Pp. lxiv, 504.)

To the student of the French Revolution M. Bloch's work will offer a new illustration, drawn from a fresh field of research, of the fact that the characteristic features of Revolutionary policy were not sudden breaks with the ideas of the past, but were the final term in a series the beginnings of which ran back at least to the middle of the century. This is a reflection that M. Bloch's exposition of the subject suggests, rather than a thesis that he seeks to maintain. His book falls into three parts. The first establishes an estimate of the relative amount of poverty in the eighteenth century and explains the organization and equipment of the public and corporate charities before 1764. The second gives the theories of relief current at the time and the reforms in the methods of controlling vagabondage, of providing for foundlings, and of the care of the infirm and the diseased, while the third exhibits the development of the doctrine finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly's committee of *mendicité*.

According to this exposition the significant efforts at reform go back to the reign of Louis XV., not the only claim he has to the title of

"benevolent despot". It was in 1764 that, as a preliminary towards a more intelligent treatment of the question of poverty and its consequences, the controller-general undertook a classification of the poor. This was followed by a declaration on vagabondage intended to facilitate its severe repression. Before the close of the reign appear other elements of the programme of relief in its later form, including *ateliers de charité* and local *bureaux d'aumônes*. M. Bloch adds that Turgot did little more than seek to realize the principles of a legal system of charity so foreshadowed. His special work was a wiser regulation of methods and a clearer development of the theory, to both of which the prestige of his name gave great weight with the members of the provincial assemblies soon to be summoned, and, a decade afterwards, with the committee of the Constituent Assembly. Several excellent examples of effective administrative improvement were due to Necker and to Mme. Necker; among them, a model *atelier de charité*, a model hospital, and the introduction of the *mont de piété*. One is also surprised to discover that provision was made for furnishing to the indigent gratuitous legal assistance. This is not the only fact that leaves upon the reader the impression of modernity. M. Bloch sums up the practical conclusions reached by public opinion before the Revolution as follows: "nécessité d'une organisation publique de la charité, confiée aux représentants électifs de la nation, reposant à la base sur la paroisse et sur les secours à domicile; préférence pour le mode d'assistance par le travail; moindre emploi possible des hôpitaux; ressources régulières tirées soit des aumônes versées entre les mains des représentants autorisés des bureaux locaux de charité, soit des revenus de certains biens ecclésiastiques nationalisés." The Constituent Assembly had little to do beyond registering this general conclusion or working it out in practice.

M. Bloch has restricted his researches to the *généralités* of Paris, Rouen, Alençon, Orléans, Chalons, Soissons, and Amiens, but he believes that the results for this field are substantially what they would be for France as a whole. He has prefaced his work with a bibliography of manuscript sources and of printed books and pamphlets. The manuscript collections are so fully described that the bibliography will serve as a valuable guide for investigators of this subject in the national archives and in the local archives of the region studied. The principal printed material is also briefly characterized. It should be added that only the book of M. Christian Paultre, *De la Répression de la Mendicité et du Vagabondage en France sous l'Ancien Régime*, has given a treatment of the field at all comparable with that by M. Bloch, and M. Paultre's book is written mainly from the juridical standpoint. M. Bloch's index is exceptionally detailed and will facilitate the effective use of his results.

H. E. BOURNE.

[Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française, publiés par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique]: *Département de Loir-et-cher, Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage de Blois et du Bailliage Secondaire de Romorantin, pour les États Généraux de 1789*, I., II., ed. F. LESUEUR et A. CAUCHIE (1907, 1908, pp. xcix, 576; 509); *do.* (Manche) *Cotentin*, II., ed. ÉMILE BRIDREY (1908, pp. 806); *do.* (Gard) *Nîmes*, I., ed. E. BLIGNY-BONDURAND (1908, pp. lv, 584); *do.* (Bouches-du-Rhône) *Marseille*, ed. J. FOURNIER (1908, pp. lxi, 557); *do.* (Yonne) *Sens*, ed. CH. PORÉE (1908, pp. 846); *do.* (Lot) *Cahors*, ed. V. FOURASTIÉ (1908, pp. xiv, 383); (Dép. Rhône), *Documents relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux*, ed. S. CHARLÉTY (1906, pp. xviii, 722); *do.* (Bouches-du-Rhône), *id.*, I., ed. P. MOULIN (1908, pp. lxxii, 592); *do.* (Orne), *Recueil des Documents d'Ordre Économique, contenus dans les Registres de Délibérations des Municipalités du District d'Alençon, 1788—an IV*, I., II., ed. F. MOURLOT (1907, 1908, pp. xxiii, 766; 672); *Procès-Verbaux des Comités d'Agriculture et de Commerce de la Constituante, de la Législative, et de la Convention*, I.—III., ed. F. GERBAUX et CH. SCHMIDT (1906—1908, pp. xiv, 763; xxiv, 775; xxxi, 823); *Recueil des Réponses faites par les Communautés de l'Élection de Gap au Questionnaire envoyé par la Commission Intermédiaire des États du Dauphiné*, ed. l'Abbé GUILLAUME (1908, pp. xvii, 609); *Les Comités des Droits Féodaux et de Législation et l'Abolition du Régime Seigneurial (1789—1793)*, ed. PH. SAGNAC et P. CARON (1907, pp. xlv, 826); *L'Abolition des Droits Seigneuriaux en Savoie (1761—1793)*, ed. M. BRUCHET (1909, pp. ciii, 638).

NOTICES in earlier numbers of this REVIEW (XI. 534—537; XII. 373—376) described the aim and general character of the series of which these volumes form a part. New issues have appeared, meanwhile, which comprise such a variety of material that they may probably be taken to represent fairly the contribution which the series offers to the student interested in economic history.

One general judgment seems warranted at the outset. These documents are not the ordinary material of economic history, nor do they present an ordinary chapter in French economic history, but, in strict conformity to the title of the series, they represent the economic history of the French Revolution. The student who seeks to learn from their pages how the French people were making a living at the close of the eighteenth century, how they tilled their soil and refined its products, how they traded among themselves and with their neighbors, must be gifted with an alert discrimination if he would hear aright the suggestions which are offered to guide him in his search. He has been



used, probably, to a sober reticence, when he has questioned the people of other times and places about their economic life. The day's work has seemed to them so commonplace that they have thought of little to say about it, and have left records which were meagre but were at the same time unconscious and trustworthy. The student will find in the books under review similar unconscious indications of the economic organization, though these are less plentiful than one would expect in volumes of such scope and bulk. But from the consideration of this evidence the reader is distracted by the clamor of many voices, denouncing injustices, demanding rights, asserting in one breath that everything is changed, complaining in another that the old order persists intact. It is not alone what is said in the documents which clouds the reader's judgment; there is always the suspicion in his mind that the noisy part of the nation was writing the history of the period, that it left unsaid much that the quiet part, perhaps a very large part, could have told us about the condition of their affairs. Some of the documents, indeed, are interesting as much because of the ignorance which they betray as for the knowledge which they reveal. "On est surpris, en effet", say the editors of the *cahiers* of Blois, "de constater combien la population était souvent mal renseignée sur les institutions dont elle avait à se plaindre et, en général, sur toute l'administration de l'ancien régime."

These considerations apply with greatest force to the volumes of *cahiers*, a kind of material already familiar to students of the period. The new volumes make no great departure from similar collections previously printed, except as they extend our knowledge of local conditions in the rural communes, and provide, in the volume on Marseilles, a welcome source of information on the position of the corporations of arts and trades at the time. The most noteworthy advance which they mark lies in the contributions of their editors, who have attempted and attained a distinctly higher standard than has hitherto prevailed in publications of the kind. The editors have chosen various ways to reach their ends. All have illustrated their *cahiers* by the use of other manuscript material; some, notably MM. Lesueur and Cauchie, have prefaced their work with elaborate introductions; M. Bridrey elucidates his documents with foot-notes which equal in bulk the text itself, and M. Porée distinguishes his volume by the full information contained in the paragraphs introductory to each *cahier*. Most of the volumes, furthermore, are provided with really excellent indexes, covering subjects as well as persons and places, and adding immensely to the practical value of the work.

Many of the editors have given attention to the question of the authorship of ideas which reappear so often in the *cahiers* that they clearly confess to a common origin. In the volume on Blois, in which the question is admirably treated, and in that on Cahors, the repetition of certain grievances is shown clearly to correspond with the local grouping of the parishes; and various indications betray the influence of



assembly presidents, of officers of justice and of the clergy. We may note in passing that the editor of the volume on Cahors has gone astray (p. 140) in thinking that Gay's poem on "The Degenerate Bees" was in the mind of the author of the *cahier*, who refers as distinctly as possible to Bernard Mandeville's book, *The Fable of the Bees*, and, furthermore, describes one of its leading ideas, that luxury is beneficent.

In interesting contrast with the *cahiers* is the collection offered by the Abbé Guillaume of answers made by the communities of a district in Dauphiné, corresponding to the modern department of Hautes Alpes, to a schedule of questions proposed to them by a provincial commission in 1789. The spirit of the Revolution is less evident in this volume than in any of the others. The people were invited, not to express their views on the world at large and their suggestions for its improvement, but to describe the actual conditions of their village life in answer to specific questions exactly like those asked in a modern census. The questions, twenty-four in number, covered such practical matters of fact as the size of the community, sanitary conditions, agricultural and industrial products and trade, local finances, schools, and poor relief. The answers are, for the most part, curt and definite and inspire in the reader a confidence which the editor believes to be well founded. Seldom, indeed, does the student of economic history find a more satisfactory means of informing himself about the economic organization of the past; and if similar sources covered the remainder of France they would provide an invaluable means of checking the statements, so distinctly subjective, of the *cahiers* and of the petitions and memorials in other volumes. The department of Hautes Alpes is, unfortunately, but a small part of France, characterized then as now by conditions of life so simple that they cannot be taken to illustrate the French organization as a whole.

Even when the clash of opinions is stilled, as in M. Moulin's statistical account of the sale of national property in the department of Bouches-du-Rhône, the facts recorded are generally those of abrupt and sweeping change. M. Moulin's volume resembles in all important characteristics that of M. Charléty on the sale of national property in the department of the Rhone, which has already been described in this REVIEW (XII. 375-376). The chief change to be noted is one of arrangement, the documents being grouped no longer by districts but by communes; and this change in classification will undoubtedly facilitate the study and interpretation of the records. As applied in the present volume the reader must regret that it deprives him of the opportunity to follow the course of land transfers in the rural districts; the general inventories of ecclesiastical property make up the larger part of the volume, and the remaining space is devoted almost entirely to the commune of Aix, an urban centre. The student will find this material on the sale of national property, at best, refractory. The appearance of

accuracy, implied always in statistics, is shown by the editors to be somewhat deceptive; and, on the other hand, the facts are presented in a form so atomic and incoherent that they will require patient study and considerable constructive ability of one who would gather from them their social and economic significance.

The stout volumes in which M. Mourlot prints the municipal documents of the district of Alençon contain over four thousand entries taken from the records of forty-three communes and covering ten years of the Revolutionary period. With rare exceptions the documents are summarized and are presented in the form of a calendar, chronologically arranged by communes. They refer in part to such routine matters of local administration as taxes, roads, and communal property, and in part bear witness to the activities of the Revolutionary government at Paris. In them can be traced, with an abundance of detail, the efforts of the government to gather the resources of the countryside for its wars abroad. The appraisal of resources gives occasionally results of considerable interest, as, for instance, the enumeration of the entire stock in trade of a country store, which is printed on page 536 of the first volume. A topic which invites attention and which might profitably be studied with some care is the policy followed to insure the local food supply. The assize of bread, which was said recently by D'Avenel to persist still in many French towns, was in full vigor in this period and was the object of many regulations. In these times of scarcity, while the government was endeavoring to enforce the law of maximum price, the grain trade was naturally under the closest surveillance, and came near to being absorbed by local authorities and exercised as an ordinary municipal function. Agents were sent out by the communes to buy wheat and flour on the public account, and, in one case noticed, the agent was authorized before his departure to lay in a stock of cider that he might reduce the expenses of his quest by selling it along the road. Even the institution of the market was enforced with medieval strictness. In Courtomer, in 1793, people were forbidden to buy or sell any ware outside the market-place, at least on Sundays, under penalty of a fine of 10 livres and confiscation of the goods; and later reference shows that people dealing in tow outside the market were actually punished. Similar regulations appear to have been in force in other communes.

The volumes which would seem to promise the most useful general indications of the economic conditions of France in this period are the three edited by MM. Gerbault and Schmidt, containing the records of the committees of agriculture and of commerce of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies. On these committees sat agriculturists, business men, manufacturers, lawyers, officials, and scientists, of whom some were distinguished representatives of their respective callings, and one, at least, Dupont de Nemours, has left a reputation extending far beyond his place and time. The committees were established to receive and

discuss all suggestions relating to the subjects of agriculture and commerce and to prepare appropriate legislation for the consideration of the larger assemblies. An enormous mass of petitions and memorials passed through their hands. The first volume, comprising the records of the Constituent Assembly from its establishment in September, 1789, to January, 1791, contains notices, more or less extended, of 2143 memorials. The second volume, continuing the records of this committee to its dissolution in September, 1791 (p. 441), adds perhaps another thousand; and in addition, in the records of the two separate committees of the Legislative Assembly from October, 1791, to September, 1792, contains 476 memorials on agriculture and 756 on commerce. Some of the documents which reached the committees were dismissed with a bare mention; others were referred to a member to study and report upon them and later were disposed of as he recommended, often by reference to some executive official. Some few gave rise to extended discussions, which are, unfortunately, recorded only in bare summaries, while some were elaborated into projects of law and finally passed the Assembly.

To the student of the legislation of the period these volumes will henceforth be indispensable. To the student of general economic history they offer interesting information on a great variety of topics. The memorials came in from every conceivable source—and from none at all, if we may so designate the origin of the anonymous letters, which were not infrequent. The reactionary demanded a return to the strictest regulations of the old order; the radical proposed the abolition of all restrictions. A man suggested that a *dot* of 100 livres should be provided for all country girls on their marriage; a woman invited others of her sex to cease wearing white clothes. The motley material defies a summary. The editors describe as follows the matters which were brought most often to the attention of the committees in the records of the second volume. First in importance, in agricultural affairs, was the question of the division of common lands among the citizens of the communes. This question, which formed the subject of occasional memorials and petitions in the first volume, grew in importance with the passage of time and was continually agitated in 1792. The committee on agriculture was occupied largely also with projects for canals and with the serious conditions arising from the scarcity of grain. Nearly half of the departments of France applied to the central government for aid in the provision of their food supply, and the committee constantly received complaints and suggestions regarding the grain trade. The committee on commerce joined in the deliberation on this question and had within its own particular field other matters to occupy its attention: points of detail connected with the administration of the customs tariff of 1791 and the position of the free ports. If we scan the pages of the three volumes we get the impression that scarcely a point in the economic field was left untouched. In the matter of

foreign trade, for example, the reader will find not only material illustrating the commercial organization of the time but also many hints helping to an understanding of the slave trade, the colonial system, and the operation of the French commercial policy in Europe.

The editors might well shrink from the task of preparing an index to this heterogeneous mass of material but they promise to provide one for the whole work when they publish the fourth and concluding volume of the records. Meanwhile, the student who would take advantage of the valuable bits of information scattered through some two thousand pages must sift his wheat from an overwhelming amount of chaff. The editors have performed one service of noteworthy importance by indicating the place in the archives where can be found important reports and other documents, of which there is only a mention in the records of the committees. The interest of this material, still unprinted, may be illustrated by an extract (I. 49) from a memorial of the manufacturers of Louviers against the treaty of commerce of 1786 with England. These manufacturers, it appears, had sent their agents to Paris in 1786 to oppose a treaty and to urge the minister to consult with chambers of commerce on the question. They could not get a hearing. "Chaque article du traité", according to the memorial, "a été pesé, discuté, balancé à Londres, par tous ceux qui y avait intérêt; en France, au contraire, la discussion a été secrète, bornée à un petit nombre d'individus; . . . ainsi se sont évanouies les espérances données aux fabriques, ainsi s'est préparée et consommée leur perte sans qu'il leur ait été possible de se faire entendre."

The text of most of the volumes already considered has been provided by the manuscripts of the archives, in a form which, to be sure, required some emendation of spelling and punctuation and sometimes considerable condensation, but which at least imposed on the editors no serious responsibility in the selection and rejection of documents or in the order of arrangement. MM. Sagnac and Caron in their collection of documents illustrating the abolition of the seigniorial régime have had to make a selection from a mass of material in the National Archives estimated by them at twelve-fold the bulk of the work which they present; and further they have provided a scheme, chronological and topical, in which they have grouped the documents to bring out their characteristic features. Beginning with the decree of August 11, 1789, proclaiming the destruction of the feudal system, their first period continues until March, 1790, when the reactionary decree determining the feudal rights which were suppressed without an indemnity, and those which might be commuted, led to a storm of popular indignation. The second period, which occupies the largest part of the volume (pp. 173-765), closes with the sweeping changes effected by the Legislative Assembly in 1792 and the Convention in 1793; the documents of the third period, extending into 1794, are contained in less than fifty pages. Within a period, taking the first for example, documents are grouped

under the following heads: general; personal rights, especially the seigniorial monopolies; rights attaching to land, the most important category, including as it did rents in money and in kind, labor dues, tithes, rights of common, and the many incidents of manorial tenures; finally, disorders and insurrections.

The headings cited suggest the scope of the volume and its importance as a source of information on French agrarian history. The documents, of which the greater number are memorials or petitions, are colored by personal interest and by class prejudices, but they give an extraordinarily vivid picture of conditions as they appeared to contemporaries; and as they seek to represent the seigniorial as well as the popular side in the controversy they do not leave the reader entirely defenseless before the passionate appeals of the advocates of change. One conclusion forces itself on the reader who scans, even cursorily, the pages of the volume. The Revolution made a tremendous breach in the institution of private property as it had been maintained for centuries; and Laveleye's dictum that it was a less violent invasion of property rights than was Gladstone's Irish legislation seems unwarranted. The reader will note in the volume also plenty of evidence explaining the grounds of attack. Among the most interesting documents are those describing the system of agents and middlemen, through whom, in France as in Ireland, the landlords managed to enjoy the benefit of property without accepting its responsibilities.

Similar evidence is furnished by the documents which M. Bruchet has collected to illustrate the extinction of the seigniorial system in Savoy. "Cette vermine" of middlemen, as they are termed in one place, appears to have been one of the plagues of the system. The Congress of Chambéry, in 1774, called particular attention to the way in which crafty and unscrupulous agents amassed large landed properties by the ruin of individuals and even of whole villages. "L'on peut citer dans la vallée de La Rochette un notaire qui, s'étant fait céder pour le prix de 1000 livres les arrérages de la rente de Montmayeur, en a exigé plus de 20,000 en désolant toute la vallée. L'on peut citer le fermier des fiefs de l'évêché de Maurienne et nombre d'autres qui se sont enrichis aux dépens des pauvres laboureurs. L'on peut même dire, en général, qu'il n'y a dans ce pays aucune profession où l'on ait assemblé communément de si gros patrimoine comme dans la commission et la ferme des fiefs."

Without intending any reflection on the work done by the editors of the other volumes it is but fair to accord to M. Bruchet, who is archivist of the department of the Nord, most cordial recognition of the generous way in which he has conceived his editorial duties and of the success with which he has executed them. He has constructed his volume from material scattered in French and foreign archives and extending in time over the period of a generation. He has arranged it so that the student may first follow the general course of the

emancipation movement from the standpoint of the ruling authorities, and then from that of the public, ranged in support or opposition; pages 326 to 454 present a statistical summary of emancipation contracts, arranged by localities; and pages 455 to 586 comprise three monographs summarizing the results of the reforms, first in a typical province of Savoy, second in a commune partitioned among several fiefs, and third in a commune subject to a single lord. He has provided both an index and a good table of contents and has prefaced the documents with an essay of a hundred pages in which he sketches the situation in Savoy before and during the reforms and points out their general significance. In one point only does he seem to have failed of his full duty of editor. He must be acquainted with the studies of Dr. Paul Darmstädter, "Die Hörigen im französischen Jura", in the *Zeitschrift für Social- und Wirthschaftsgeschichte*, 1896, no. 4, pp. 343-375; *Die Befreiung der Leibeigenen in Savoyen* (Strassburg, 1897), based in considerable part on the same manuscript material which he used; and he would certainly have performed a service to students if he had indicated the existence of these studies even if he did not care to express an opinion on his predecessor's views. In this regard, however, he stands with his colleagues, who refer but rarely to monographs dealing with the material which they present.

CLIVE DAY.

*Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française.* Tome I. Troisième édition. Par PIERRE DE LA GORCE, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1909. Pp. vi, 515.)

THE author of this book is already well known for his voluminous writings on the Second French Republic and the Second Empire in France, nine solid volume in all. These have been reviewed from time to time in our pages and the sound method of the writer is well known to our readers. This volume is quite as substantial and thorough as the others. Documentary material has been gathered by the author and used to a greater extent than by any of his predecessors, and the many new publications of local material—accounts of events during the Revolution in various cities and departments—have shed some interesting side-lights on the subject. In the main, however, he has used the standard authorities, with well-known and approved results. At least so far. There may be novelties in the volumes to follow.

M. de la Gorce has reached the conviction that the Concordat was truly a religious conciliation and as such the most solid basis of the First Consul's renown. Of course in this conclusion he differs widely from Ultramontane opinion. But he is writing four volumes to prove his point. This first one covers the period to the close of the Constituent Assembly, which is that of the decline and extinction of ecclesiastical privilege; the second is to describe the persecution and tem-



porary extinction of the Roman Church; the third is to portray the various substitutes proposed for filling the chasm; and the fourth the enforced compromise between the Papacy and the Consulate. If the other volumes are as comprehensive and exhaustive as this one we may expect an encyclopedia of the subject.

The weakness of the privileged church our author finds in its languor, in a general lassitude of all departments of its organization except the nunneries, a languor due to the long continued absence of organized resistance of even the feeblest sort. Opposed to it were the men of thought, many of the best parish priests, all the Jansenists, the entire organization of free-masonry and an immense number of innovators who either groaned under the tyranny of an unhallowed alliance between hierarchy and monarchy or who saw opportunities of economic readjustment by which they might profit immensely. These were not organized, not even homogeneous or ready for organization. The author feels that the hierarchy was neither vicious nor aggressive, and that it did not easily afford a target for the venomous attacks of its foes. This, of course, is a view in startling contrast with that held by such investigators as Robinet and Aulard. But the controversial pages of *De la Gorce* bristle with quite as many foot-notes as theirs. The evidence on both sides is, of course, not accessible at this distance and cannot be weighed by a reviewer, separated so far from archives and special libraries.

But in the second division the author exhibits his virtuous *ecclesia* in complete disintegration and reaching this condition from internal forces: the bitterness between the prelacy and the lower clergy, and the victory of the latter. If the government had exhibited any directive energy in dealing with the antiquated institution of the Estates time could perhaps have been gained for a moderation of the disputes, but its fatuity was manifest at the outset as throughout the swift course of events and in the cataclysmic ending. With the loss of all its feudal privilege the hierarchy lost control of its revenues; the secularization of its estates was necessarily followed by that of its numerous personnel. On the failure of Necker's reforms the financial problem was, of course, most easily solved by recourse to the new ecclesiastical purse so unexpectedly presented for pillage. Monasteries and nunneries were secularized, monks and nuns released from their vows, and all their real estate announced for sale, some immediately, some later. Contrary to the general impression the sale was a great success and the government would have been established on a sound basis but for the unhappy substitution of paper money for ringing coin. As the value of the assignats fell the worth of successive partial payments diminished, until the patriot purchases of ecclesiastical real estate secured it for an ever-diminishing value, a value which finally disappeared altogether. It is in this falling market that the peasant purchaser enters on the



scene, and for a song becomes a landed proprietor. From that instant the death knell of a privileged church, a privileged crown, and a landed aristocracy begins to sound. To the numerous small burgher proprietors of the towns is added a great class of small landed proprietors and the sovereignty of the bourgeoisie is only a matter of time.

The best and fullest division of the book is that which contains the history and discussion of attempted reform, the effort to rebuild subsequent to the shattering of medieval ecclesiasticism. This must, of course, be read and carefully studied. The author's conclusion regarding the Civil Constitution of the Clergy is condemnatory. It satisfied neither friends nor foes of Romanism, it created neither a primitive church nor a free one, it perpetuated the idea of a state church and was destined to enslave religion or engender civil war. For the behavior of pope, hierarchy, king, and legislature there is no apology and not a very savage denunciation. The schism, too, is described in temperate language, due blame being meted out to the small minority of vile creatures who were chosen bishops in the state church, and equal reprobation for the vacillations and procrastinations of the Papacy. Even the manoeuvres of the radicals, the kings tergiversation and the repercussion on politics of the flight to Varennes are all discussed without heat. The book closes with a clear and comprehensive rehearsal of what resulted far and near from the king's behavior in accepting what he dared not reject, of the clashes between moderates and radicals throughout the provinces, of the despair and cowardice of the classes who should have closed up the ranks of patriotism but who were flying in alarm across the border, and the feeble attempts at amnesty, thwarted by religious intolerance—all this combined exhibits the complete anarchy in politics and society due to the gross mismanagement of the religious question.

The author claims for himself a certain impassive temper—not the impartiality of indifference but that which is seated in profound respect for the truth of history. He alters no fact, mutilates no text, and puts no man in a false light. Such is his claim and we are disposed to grant it. Yet the spirit of the volume is distinctly reverential: it depicts the sufferings of Frenchmen for God and the Church with sympathy. It does not attempt to enforce a magisterial judgment of history regarding the men of the epoch nor to impose one on the reader. Nor is there any evident parallel between present conditions and those of the eighteenth century. The lesson may infiltrate and interpenetrate the public or it may be lost. The author claims that in presenting the lesson his duty is done. We can recommend the volume unreservedly and we await its successors with interested expectation.

*L'Exil et la Mort du Général Moreau.* Par ERNEST DAUDET.  
(Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1909. Pp. ix, 267.)

THIS book by the historian of the Revolutionary emigration is an

interesting account not only of the exile and death of General Moreau but also of his trial for complicity in the Cadoudal-Pichegru plot against Napoleon. The writer's attitude is entirely sympathetic with the hero of Hohenlinden, whose downfall he ascribes, in common with other anti-Bonapartist writers, to the jealousy which Napoleon had for Moreau's ability, influence, and popularity. For materials the writer has had access to the archives of France, Sweden, and Russia, and to the inedited papers of Moreau. These papers upon which the account of the trial is based are letters which Moreau managed secretly to send to his wife during the five months between his arrest and his release from the Temple. In them not only is Moreau's sincere devotion to his wife evident but his frankness and ingenuousness impart a note of verity which appears conclusive as to Moreau's loyalty in 1804.

According to M. Daudet, Moreau's destruction was decreed by Napoleon and to prove this he cites the irregular nature of the trial and the unusual action of the twelve judges, who, after voting seven for acquittal and five against, sentenced the general to two years in prison. Before the trial Moreau had written to his wife of his desire to leave France. After the judgment he hoped that his sentence might be commuted to exile though he could not "negotiate upon that point". Yet when the sentence of exile was sent him, it was upon the ground that Moreau had solicited it. Moreau left France for Spain, remained there for a year and proceeded to the United States, where he remained from 1805 to 1813. The events of Moreau's stay in America are passed over lightly except for the consideration of the influences and motives which led to his return to Europe for service against Napoleon. M. Daudet disproves the contention that Moreau while in the Temple had planned to offer his services to Russia, and denies that Godoy received similar overtures while Moreau was in Spain. It appears, however, that the Russian government undertook to enlist Moreau's services soon after his exile began. Pahlen, afterwards Russian representative at Washington, was sent to America in 1807 to persuade Moreau "to lend his aid to Russia". Moreau refused upon the ground that he would not enter the service of a country at war with France. What, then, caused Moreau to reverse his decision six years later? M. Daudet finds the motive in Moreau's visionary desire to organize a legion of French prisoners in Russia and to invade France at their head in order to incite a revolution against Napoleon; further, that he worked out the plan while in America, that in it he was encouraged by the Russian chargé at Washington, Dashkov, and that had he believed such a scheme impossible he would never have left the United States. M. Daudet's argument at this point is scarcely convincing. When asked by Dashkov to name his conditions, Moreau replied that his confidence in Alexander was complete. His one idea was that in fighting against Napoleon he was fighting for France, with the hope added that after

Napoleon's downfall he might be "mediator between his vanquished country and the victorious foreign powers". That Moreau should have wanted revenge against Napoleon was but human. The Napoleon whom Moreau saw from America was dissociated from France and only a tyrant to be overthrown. M. Daudet believes Moreau to have been "a great patriot always, in whom a distant exile had so obscured the vision of duty that he believed it proper to fight under those foreign flags which Frenchmen, who had never left France, held to be the flags of enemies".

J. S. R.

*The Last Days of Papal Rome, 1850-1870.* By R. DE CESARE.

Abridged with the assistance of the author and translated by HELEN ZIMMERN, with an introductory chapter by G. M. TREVELYAN. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1909. Pp. xxiii, 488.)

PERSONS who appraise a book's value by its foot-notes will be quite at sea with Dr. De Cesare's volume. For it has no references to sources and no bibliography. However, bibliographies can be made up, and there are historical periods about which printed authorities are very meagre or entirely lacking. The end of papal Rome was such a period. Pius IX. did not believe in newspapers; the machine, of which Cardinal Antonelli was head, which really ran the government, did not care to have published the papers concerning either its home or foreign secret transactions. The official documents which it gave to the press were about as close to reality as is an American campaign platform. In the absence, therefore, of the sort of material that one usually relies upon, we turn gratefully to Dr. De Cesare's memorabilia. There is not an item in his book for which he could not cite authority, but as many of his authorities gave their testimony to him orally, he naturally withholds their names. His own memory covers the second decade (1860-1870) of his chronicle.

Read with insight, this work is very significant. The last twenty years of Pius IX.'s temporal reign form a logical whole. Under Antonelli's lead in politics and that of the Jesuits in ecclesiastical polity, the Papacy adopted its attitude of unyielding antagonism to modern progress. In politics it was on the verge of declaring constitutional government heretical; in theology, it promulgated the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and of Papal Infallibility and compiled the virulently obscurantist Syllabus; and in the mixed field of theology and politics it pressed the theory of the Temporal Power almost to the point of an article of faith. Dr. De Cesare tells of these matters with open-minded frankness. He is never polemical. His concern throughout is with social and personal facts, rather than with either political or theological theories.

The chapters in which he describes life in Rome in old days—the days of artists, foreigners, beggars, bad drainage, fevers, continual festivals, picturesque if somewhat senescent customs, loose morals—have particular charm. The historian proper will find also trustworthy information on taxes and economic conditions; on the censorship; on the French occupation of the capital and the Austrian occupation of the Legations; on the many efforts made, first by Cavour and afterwards by Ricasoli, to reach a peaceful solution of the Roman Question. Here, too, is an informal narrative of the Ecumenical Council; and among the topics described mention should be made of the account of the kidnapping of the Mortara boy. Nowhere else has that crucial case been treated so exhaustively as by Dr. De Cesare in his original Italian work; the translation, though much condensed, gives the truth in a nutshell.

In general, the translation, which measures less than a half of the original, has been made with an eye to the interests of English-speaking readers. Much that is local, much that is merely curious or antiquarian, has been omitted. The result is a remarkably readable book, and one which no student of papal methods and tendencies since 1850 can afford to pass by. The Italian contains also many reprints of fugitive or surreptitious pieces, with inedited letters, which, for lack of archival documents, may well be regarded as original sources. But the final value of the book as a contribution to history rests upon Dr. De Cesare's talent for collecting, absorbing, digesting, and then of setting forth clearly and honestly the testimony of witnesses of all parties. A reader familiar with the period will not be surprised to learn that Marquis Visconti-Venosta and the late Count Nigra were among his informers.

The translation has been made by Miss Helen Zimmern; and Mr. G. M. Trevelyan contributes in a short preface a statement of the Italian situation between 1850 and 1870.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

*The Birth of Modern Italy.* Posthumous Papers of JESSIE WHITE MARIO. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Epilogue, by the Duke LITTA-VISCONTI-ARESE. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1909. Pp. xxvii, 354.)

THE late Signora Mario, though an English woman, had the singular fortune to be the chosen biographer of several of the leaders of the Party of Action in the Risorgimento. She wrote lives of Mazzini, Garibaldi, Bertani, and Nicotera, and she edited, with biographical sketches, the writings of Cattaneo and of her husband, Alberto Mario. Although she was in no sense a detached or objective historian, she made her books indispensable to the student of that period, first by interspersing them with many letters and documents otherwise inac-

cessible; next by revealing the inside point of view; and finally by kindling in her pages that enthusiasm which was one of the important psychological factors in the struggle for Italian unification. No reader can be led astray by her subjectivity; but we should lose much if we could not look through it at the men and events she describes. Works like hers, however, are peculiarly hard to review in short compass; because, while it would be possible to contradict many of her statements by an appeal to facts, we should not by so doing destroy the real value of her books—which lies precisely in reproducing the state of mind in which she and her great companions saw or interpreted those facts.

This posthumous volume, which Duke Litta has put together with much skill, consists really of a biography of Mazzini as far as 1854; then Signora Mario's personal reminiscences begin, and they are interwoven with a general account of Italian affairs down to Garibaldi's visit to England in 1864. In the latter part of the book, Garibaldi is the hero, as Mazzini is in the earlier. Especially rich in personal details are the chapters dealing with Mazzini's first political attempts and with his exile in London. His habits, simple and austere as a hermit's, his methods of directing his vast network of secret conspiracy, and his relations with the Carlyles, the Ashursts, and other English friends, have not hitherto been so sympathetically described in English. Signora Mario, as was to be expected, absolves him from the charges of abetting assassination, of sending zealous disciples on doomed expeditions, and of promoting a chimerical propaganda. Her account of the Bandiera affair and of the action of the British Post-Office in opening Mazzini's letters is unusually exhaustive. Naturally enough, she denies that Mazzini brought discord to Milan in 1848, because, from her standpoint, it was always the persons who opposed him who introduced discord.

One of the typical chapters is that devoted to the Sapri Expedition—which so closely resembles in intent and moral effect John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. She speaks here from her own knowledge, because this was the first Mazzinian enterprise in which she took part; and her testimony must always have due weight; but she fails to appreciate the position of the Piedmontese government, and consequently she unjustly abuses Cavour. So her criticism of Cavour's acts, except his alliance with Garibaldi in 1859, is generally as harsh as that of thorough-going Abolitionists on Lincoln. She is quite wrong, for instance, in asserting that Cavour might with impunity have refused to cede Nice and Savoy, "as England would have awakened in time" (p. 293). But she does him justice after his death; for she declares that "had Cavour lived there would have been no Aspromonte and no Mentana, nor would he have signed that fatal 'Convention of September'" (p. 311).

Garibaldi's Sicilian Expedition of 1860 is passed over briefly; there are some picturesque details of his wounding at Aspromonte and a few

side-lights on his English triumph and sudden departure from London in 1864. Scattered through the volume we find many extracts from letters. Rightly used—as one uses the personal memoirs of actors in great historic affairs, discounting their temperament—this posthumous book must be prized by historians, who have ample means for correcting its misstatements. In no other work in English are the Mazzinians and their Garibaldian allies painted with so much lifelikeness or defended with equal loyalty and charm. It is unnecessary to call attention to the misprints, of which there are many, but mention ought to be made of the illustrations, which include a large number of portraits and such a document as Garibaldi's death sentence. Duke Litta furnishes a sympathetic biographical sketch of Signora Mario.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

*Österreichs innere Geschichte von 1848 bis 1907.* Von RICHARD CHARMATZ. Volume II. *Der Kampf der Nationen.* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1909. Pp. 176.)

IN the April number of this journal (pp. 586–588) we attempted to crystallize the inner-Austrian constitutional history since the revolution of 1848 until 1878 under the leadership of the Germans. The above booklet tries to evolve the successful racial struggle of the Slavs and the Latins against German supremacy. Magyar history, since the compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867, which constituted the Dual Monarchy, is touched upon only so far as it affects vitally the very existence of Austria through a severe crisis, involving almost a breaking point, up to the rearrangement of the relations between both states during the ministry of Baron Beck. The inner struggle of the Magyar masters with their contending races, Germans, Serbo-Croats, Roumanians, would require an historical interpretation of its own fully as kaleidoscopic as that of Austria.

Charmatz covers in an extremely succinct way the great work by Gustav Kolmer, *Parliament und Verfassung in Oesterreich* (5 vols., Wien und Leipzig, Carl Fromme), with the difference that while the latter is very pessimistic as to the outcome of the racial *bellum omnium contra omnes*, the former sees no blind raging in the conflagration kindled by a dozen different nationalities, but a painful, toilsome progress influenced by great thoughts. This agrees with Ranke's historical maxim, "dass, von den kleinlich-verwerflichen Absichten zwar berührt, aber nicht beherrscht, zuletzt doch die grossen Motive entscheiden."

Thus Austria is not tottering, Austria is slowly rising. A constitutional conflict of sixty years made it possible to remove the old feudal state, shake off the yoke of absolutism, at least according to the letter of the law, to make the constitutional principles of democracy the recognized, if not always and everywhere enforced, law of the monarchy, and to lead the Austrian nationalities towards autonomy. Unfortun-

nately, the latter process is not yet completed, and the racial conflicts are raging more bitterly than ever. The old German Federal Empire, in its Cisleithan part, was now to be changed into a polyglot federation of kingdoms and crown lands in which the numerical predominance of the Slavic tribes would *ipso facto* prevail. Austria was to lose the very root of her existence through individualized, centrifugal race-consciousness, while only the dynasty common to all would remain a tie between the territorial, racial states tending apart, owing to the foreign speech-islands within them.

The December Constitution of 1867, erected as a dam against the Slavizing of Austria, could not stand against the constant, virulent onslaughts of the Slavs everywhere, of the Italians in the Tridentino and the Tyrol, Italia Irredenta. Under its débris the foundations of the old central power were buried with the German past of Austria, and the crown was dragged down into the struggle of the parties. Instead of Parliamentary rule there was racial party rule of the majorities. The German opposition became paralyzed through the coalition of the German clericals with the Slavic elements. It was doomed to disintegration in proportion as its defeats became more frequent, as its groups annihilated one another, and as large fractions of the Germans fell prey to demagogues or reactionaries. All the Slavic races are extending their activity to the neighboring German provinces, and are strong enough to demand that even in the ancient German imperial city of Vienna a place should be made for the Czech and Polish languages in school and court.

Nevertheless, the storms in the Reichsrat and the provincial parliaments, with many disgraceful scenes enacted, may be merely outward infection. In spite of bitter conflicts the races develop or deepen their national culture. The political fights do not absorb all the forces. So much is certain, however. While the advancing development brings advantages to the Slavs, there is nothing but resignation for the Germans, who were exclusive masters for so many centuries, the foremost factors of culture that taught the other races to become conscious of themselves.

HERMANN SCHOENFELD.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Die Karten von Amerika in dem Islario General des Alonso de Santa Cruz, Cosmógrafo Mayor des Kaisers Karl V., mit dem Spanischen Originaltexte und einer Kritischen Einleitung herausgegeben von FRANZ R. VON WIESER.* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung. 1908. Pp. xx, 59.)

COMMISSIONED by the Organizations Committee of the Sixteenth International Congress of Americanists to prepare a suitable "Festschrift" for presentation at the meeting held in Vienna September last,



Professor von Wieser selected for publication that part of the *Islario General* of Alonso de Santa Cruz which relates to America. In his fifteen pages of introduction the editor states briefly the important facts known concerning Alonso de Santa Cruz as an official cosmographer of Spain, and points out the special significance attaching to the maps of the New World in his *Islario*, though not entering fully into a critical examination of each map. In the following fifteen short chapters of the original Spanish text, each chapter from one to two pages in length, the several maps are briefly described, which maps are excellently reproduced as a third part of Professor von Wieser's publication.

Though the title of the work implies that only islands are charted, it is interesting to note that practically the entire Atlantic coast line of the New World is sketched, beginning at about latitude forty-seven north with "La Quarta Parte" (Tierra de Labrador) in the first map, and extending to "Tierra o Estrecho de Magallanes" in the last map. In place of the Gulf of Mexico Santa Cruz inserted his well-known and very interesting sketch of the city of Mexico, though on a small scale.

Santa Cruz was in a position to be well informed concerning the progress of discovery in the New World. From 1526 to 1530 he was with Sebastian Cabot in the La Plata region. Shortly after his return he became cosmographer of the Casa de la Contratacion and later royal cosmographer. To what he records in his *Islario* there appears therefore to attach a particular value for students of the period. This importance has indeed long been recognized, though but one or two of the *Islario* maps has ever been reproduced, but it has been left for Professor von Wieser to make available for students this entire atlas of sectional maps, the oldest of its kind.

But little of the cartographical work of Santa Cruz is extant. In addition to his world-map of 1542, now preserved in the Royal Library of Stockholm and issued in facsimile in 1892 by Dahlgren, by far the most important is the *Islario*. Of this work three manuscript copies are known. One of these may now be found in the City Library of Besançon, formerly belonging to the Library of Cardinal Granvella; two copies are in the Imperial Library of Vienna. A fourth copy, said to belong to the National Library of Madrid, is, so Professor von Wieser thinks, the work of Cespedes though perhaps copied from the *Islario* of Santa Cruz. In but one of the manuscripts do the maps appear, which is designated as no. 5542, or codex B, as von Wieser terms it. It appears, according to Navarrete, that the *Islario* was undertaken by Santa Cruz in 1560, at the command of King Philip II. Our editor presents good reason for thinking the work was prepared about 1541, among other arguments noting that it was dedicated to the emperor to which title Philip II. could not lay claim. We have here, then, the New World cartographically represented as it was known in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century.

Among the more important maps in the atlas may be mentioned the

third which refers to the expedition of Gomez, the twelfth which refers to Panama—in the text Santa Cruz advises the construction of a canal across the Isthmus—the fourteenth which refers to the La Plata region, and the fifteenth which refers to the Strait of Magellan.

E. L. STEVENSON.

*Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664.* Edited by J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph.D., LL.D., Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. [Original Narratives of Early American History.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1909. Pp. xxi, 478.)

THIS volume satisfies a long unfilled want. The historian, the historical novelist, even the genealogist interested in early Knickerbocker families, will find it a most satisfactory addition to their library. Those studying the North American Indians of the early colonial period cannot pass by this valuable compilation.

The *Narratives* contain in a handy volume most of New Netherland's history antedating 1638, and much of the later history which, before this publication, could only be got at by ransacking the libraries for various works, not always easily accessible.

The foot-notes are helpful and the introductions to the "pieces" contain interesting criticisms and discussions about the relative value of the piece as an historic document, as well as other matters, and often refer to other original sources of information concerning the history of New Netherland, not in this volume.

The implied allegation that the "Description of the Towne of Mannadens" was the work of a non-English traitor is refuted, not only by much other internal evidence, but especially by the writer's rendering of Fort Orange as Forterain, of Sopus or Esopus as Soppase, of Stuyvesant as Stazan, etc., errors no Dutchman would have been guilty of. Writers of English origin and apologists for English aggression are continually endeavoring to gloss over the English usurpation of New Netherland by disseminating the fiction that the New Netherlanders were so tired of their own government that they welcomed English rule. The New Netherlanders loved to quarrel with their governors and to accuse them of various misdeeds (see the "Representation of New Netherland", pp. 293-354 of these *Narratives*), as all oppositions will do, but this did not imply a predilection for English rule.

The translations are reliable, which is more than can be said of most that have gone before. Two instances only. The clause, correctly translated here on p. 84, "Every one there who fills no public office is busy about his own affairs" is rendered in the *Documentary History of N. Y.*, III. 43 (octavo edition), "There is another there who fills no public office; he is busy about his own affairs." The clause correctly translated here, on p. 233, "and coming here he could not dispose

of his wines here either, because here was a prize laden with wine which the Company had captured", is misleadingly mistranslated on p. 121 of the *Collections of the N. Y. Historical Society* (1857), second series, vol. III., part I., "and coming here he could not expose his wines for sale, because here was a tax upon wines which the Company had established."

The *Narratives* is remarkably free from errors. A close inspection showed but four. Claes Smits on p. 213 (note) should be Claes Swits. The fourteen English on p. 282 should be forty, but this may be a mistake in the original. Kill von Kull on p. 103 (note) should be Kill *van* Kull, as on p. 19, or perhaps more correctly Kill van Coll. Herr Stuyvesant on p. 349 is a misprint for *Heer* Stuyvesant. The clause "who has no interpreter" on p. 374 should read "who needs no interpreter".

We cannot believe all that their opponents averred against Kieft, Stuyvesant, and the West India Company. Does not the editor's arraignment of them on p. 289 seem to be too severe, especially in the light of the correspondence and other documents? The real burden of the charges was that New Netherland, on account of its small population, was in danger of being swallowed up by the English; further that all legislative, executive, and judicial authority centred in the Council of New Netherland, who were Company's officers. Had the "Remonstrants" confined themselves to exposing the absurdity of this condition without bringing in entirely irrelevant matter and unsupported charges they would have received a respectful hearing, and might have succeeded in bringing about a change in the constitution, though it is difficult to see how even this could have much benefited population and averted the dreaded absorption of New Netherland by the English.

DINGMAN VERSTEEG.

*The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-1776.* By CARL LOTUS BECKER, Professor of History, University of Kansas. [Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 286.] (Madison, Wis. 1909. Pp. 319.)

THIS essay was presented at the University of Wisconsin in 1907 as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The author explains in the preface that he has crystallized materials which were originally collected with an intention to write a history of the nominating convention in the United States. With such an object in view Professor Becker evidently began work by examining the sources of information concerning nominations and elections in the city and colony of New York during the years 1765-1776. The choice of period was wise. It was a time when committees representing various political factions were named and elected in mass-meetings, and gradually evolved an extra-legal system of government. In the heat of this struggle the

radical patriotic wing forced the adoption of a new and wider basis for the suffrage. Nevertheless, the conservative influences were so strong that three provincial congresses were elected under the direction of Revolutionary committees, and yet did not overturn and abolish the authority of the royal governor or interfere with the election of a general assembly of the province under the usual forms.

This story, so far as it reveals the modes of selection and various policies of the delegates and committees and the provincial congresses between 1773 and 1776, Professor Becker unrolls carefully and completely with a wealth of citation and illustration, in chapters here numbered v. and vii. to xi. inclusive. Chapter vi., which seems like an interpolation, presents a brief outline of the deliberations and conclusions of the first Continental Congress. In like manner the first three chapters contain introductory materials which are imperfectly fused with the story of the Revolutionary nominations and elections, and which by no means contain the history of political parties in New York between 1760 and 1773. The first chapter, a hasty review of social and political elements in New York, introduces in chapter ii. a brief account of the Stamp Act agitation. The third chapter reviews concisely the political controversies and disorders incident upon the attempt to maintain non-importation agreements in the years 1768-1770.

The author perhaps fails to realize how fervid the political contentions in New York City were during the thirty years preceding the outbreak of rebellion, or how continuous was the political life of the parties which followed the leadership of the Livingstons and the De Lanceys. He states clearly, in general terms, the causes of dispute between the assembly and the royal governors concerning supplies and salaries, and he describes hastily the social classes in the colony and the political affiliations of the prominent families; but he conveys little idea of the continuous active political life of the city. He barely alludes to the long and bitter contest between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy. This antagonism was in fact the most permanent principle of political difference in New York City for three-quarters of a century. It was at the bottom of the long struggle over the establishment of King's, now Columbia, College. It was the ever-impassable chasm between the two hosts of aristocracy, the Livingstons, Smiths, Schuylers, and Van Rensselaers, on the one hand, and the De Lanceys, Bayards, Coldens, Heathcotes, and Philippses, on the other.

The proposition to make the Established Church supreme by law throughout the colonies, first broached by an Archbishop of Canterbury in 1748 and revived by partizans from time to time especially in the years 1767-1769, nowhere aroused fiercer opposition than in New York where all the Whig leaders were Presbyterian lawyers. Judge Jones, the Long Island Tory historian of the colony, knew the source of the enthusiasm of his chief political opponents: "They were educated", he wrote, "at Yale College in Connecticut, then and still a nursery of

sedition, of faction and of republicanism." To the controversy between the Whig assembly of 1761 and Lieutenant-Governor Colden over the question of judicial tenures the author makes no reference although there is at least a dramatic interest in the experience of Mr. Benjamin Pratt, the Tory chief justice imported from Boston, who sat through two sessions of the supreme court without receiving a penny of salary or a minute's assistance from his associate judges.

To the powerful and interesting personalities of the New York leaders in both parties Professor Becker gives almost no attention. A history of political parties in New York after 1760 needs to turn a strong light upon the ambitious William Livingston, the first of our political leaders to realize the possibilities of the printing-press as an auxiliary, the learned William Smith, the courageous Philip Livingston, the shrewd, affable younger James De Lancey, the stern but statesman-like Cadwalader Colden. The author succeeds in producing a fairly continuous idea of the gradual evolution of the radical patriotic party out of the group known in 1765 as the Sons of Liberty, and of the progress of events which virtually forced the majority of the moderate conservatives to merge with the radicals rather than the loyalists; yet his account of the leaders who secured these results leaves much to be desired. It is surely doubtful whether Isaac Sears, son of a Yankee fish-peddler, by turns a sailor, privateersman, and small shopkeeper, is adequately described as a "vain carpet-knight".

Neither is justice done to the partizan leadership of Alexander McDougall, the author of what Colden termed the "Cut-throat circulars", the "Wilkes of New York", with whom in jail forty-five ladies breakfasted and forty-five gentlemen dined and the members of Hampden Hall cheered.

The book is furnished with a satisfactory index and an excellent bibliography. There are too many traces of hasty proof-reading. The statement on page 11 about the influence of freeholders in the elections of Albany County is repeated on page 14, and such evidences of carelessness as "Curocoa" (p. 66), "goal" (for gaol, pp. 81, 86), and "eminated" (p. 265), are too frequent.

*Les États-Unis et le Droit des Gens.* Constatations et Notes par  
ERNEST NYS, Conseiller à la Cour d'Appel de Bruxelles, Professeur à l'Université. (Bruxelles. 1909. Pp. 166.)

THIS is a reprint of a series of articles from the *Revue de Droit International*.

At the outset, Professor Nys states the plan and object of his book. It is not to examine the actions and influence of the United States from the standpoint of public law, but rather to study how the British colonies, become a nation, applied the rules of the law of nations, and shared in its progress. And he specifies the direction which such

progress took toward international arbitration; toward humaner warfare; toward respect for the private property of an enemy and for the rights of non-combatants; toward a proper definition of the rights and duties of neutrals; toward the free navigation of rivers.

This is a rather large programme, albeit in the hands of a writer of the author's distinction an interesting one. It is somewhat disconcerting, therefore, to find more than a third—in fact nearly a half—of a modest volume of 160 pages taken up with an account of the early discoveries in America, of the various attempts at colonization, of the colonies which resulted with their forms of government and differing characteristics, of the trials and troubles which induced confederation and rebellion. To this is added a glimpse of Revolutionary diplomacy, a fairly full history of the failure of the Articles of Confederation, and finally of the formation of the present Constitution.

For the foreign reader, all this is an excellent résumé of early North American history in spite of a few minor inaccuracies. It is not without value to ourselves to see how the familiar details of our origin as a state appear to foreign eyes; only it is not quite what we were led to expect.

Of especial note is the stress which the author lays upon the influence of freemasonry in the conception of our ideals of liberty. He follows Mr. Hannis Taylor in emphasizing Pelatiah Webster's part in shaping the Constitution. He traces the binding force of the law of nations, first in Great Britain, then in its colonies, through them in the United States.

Having duly prepared his readers Professor Nys at length attacks the task proposed. Even here, however, his essay takes the shape of a brief history of our foreign relations, with notes upon various related subjects. The foreign point of view is valuable, and here and there one finds some keen observation illuminating a familiar narrative; as where the author says that whatever else one may think about the Monroe Doctrine, it shows at least a claim to primacy in the affairs of this continent; or when he praises the quality of United States neutrality, 1793–1800, as calculated not only judicially to punish but also administratively to prevent violation of the law. Professor Nys does not lack sympathy for the states as against Great Britain or even France. Provisions as contraband, their pre-emption, the impressment of seamen, the indiscretions of M. Genêt, these and other questions of our early period are discussed in friendly wise. He even ventures to say that the British government itself admitted that from 1600 to 1700 seamen had been wrongfully pressed on American ships. The status resulting from belligerent occupation is fully treated and the movement for the free navigation of rivers still more so, though the fact is noted that the United States in its advocacy of the latter principle acted from the interested standpoint of a riparian owner on upper waters.

Of brief references to minor topics there is no lack. Limited

treaties with automatic renewal unless denounced; limitation of armaments on the great lakes; the proposal to exempt enemy's property at sea from capture; the arbitration tendency first seen in art. x. of the Articles of Confederation; these are commented upon as indicative of humane and enlightened sentiments, and less justly perhaps the attitude towards privateering.

For the Naval War Code of 1900, the author has a good word and a well deserved one. In Lieber's Code, he sees (and rightly) the germ of the 1874 Brussels rules and so the basis of those adopted at the Hague to regulate land warfare. The book closes with brief but appreciative notices of some fifty writers in the United States upon international law.

T. S. WOOLSEY.

*The Works of James Buchanan, comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence.* Collected and Edited by JOHN BASSETT MOORE. Volume IX., 1853-1855. (London and Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 1909. Pp. xviii, 489.)

THE present installment of Buchanan's writings covers practically the whole period of his ministry to England. He accepted the post finally, after having at first declined it, on June 11, 1853, "solely and exclusively", as he wrote to President Pierce, "to gratify your wishes and to prevent the embarrassment which you think my declination of it would occasion to your administration". Of the diplomatic questions pending between the two countries, those of most importance concerned the fisheries, reciprocity, and the position of Great Britain on the Mosquito Coast. After a month of correspondence, it was finally agreed that further negotiations should be carried on at London, rather than at Washington, but that the questions should, if possible, be considered together. Before sailing, Buchanan interrogated Secretary Marcy as to Pierce's policy in regard to the purchase of Cuba. He had an uncomfortable passage, found London in vacation quiet to dullness, and complained strongly of the high cost of living and the difficulty of finding a house.

The moment was a critical one. Europe was on the eve of the Crimean War, and questions of neutral rights and the protection of aliens might at any time become acute. No copy of the consular instructions of the United States was to be found in the legation, and the lack caused much annoyance. On the first of November, Buchanan sounded Clarendon on the subject of Cuba. Clarendon asserted that "we have not the most remote idea, in any event, of ever attempting to acquire Cuba for ourselves"; adding, that Great Britain had too many colonies already. Buchanan was delighted, and wrote to Marcy that "whether successful or not in my mission, I anticipate a frank and



agreeable intercourse with Lord Clarendon." He was not successful in his mission but his relations with Clarendon were friendly throughout.

For the moment, however, the purchase of Cuba was overshadowed by a protracted controversy, indulged in by Buchanan, as usual, with scarcely a ray of humor, over the proper dress of the American minister: a controversy not settled until February, 1855, when Buchanan, who all along had stoutly refused to adopt court costume, compromised by appearing at the queen's levee "in the simple dress of an American Citizen", re-enforced by "a very plain black handled and black hilted dress sword". "My reception", he wrote to Marcy, "was all that I could have desired." He declined the suggestion of Clarendon that he recommend a treaty between the United States and Great Britain for the abolition of privateering, a position in which he was sustained by the President. For the manner of conducting the Ostend conference, the most striking event of his ministerial career, he emphatically disclaimed responsibility, writing to Marcy on December 22, 1854, "Never did I obey any instruction so reluctantly."

Professor Moore is of the opinion that Buchanan's protestations against the use of his name as a candidate for the presidency, of which this volume like the earlier ones contains a number of instances, were, as on their face they appear to be, sincere. As late as December 28, 1855, he reiterates his position, this time, stating frankly his unwillingness to see the slavery controversy reopened. He had asked to be recalled by the end of September but the letter of recall, though dated September 11, did not reach him until November 5. By that time the excitement aroused in this country by the despatch of a British fleet to American waters convinced him that his departure might well be deferred, as President Pierce had expressed the hope that it might be; and he was still at his post at the date at which the entries in this volume cease.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

*Guillaume d'Orange et les Origines des Antilles Françaises: Étude Historique d'après les Chroniques de l'Époque et de nombreux Documents Inédits, accompagnée d'un Exposé de la Descendance de Guillaume d'Orange et de Pièces Justificatives.* Par le Vicomte DU MOTÉY. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1908. Pp. xi, 471.)

By joining the expedition of 1628 to St. Christopher, Guillaume d'Orange became a trusted aide of the daring D'Esnambuc and played an heroic part in the early struggles of that colony. Towards 1637 he passed, at the call of Governor L'Olive, his uncle by marriage, to Guadeloupe and became for twelve years a mainstay of the young colony, sometimes as a courageous warrior, sometimes as a thrifty planter, always as a refuge of the poor and depressed. Later he passed to

Martinique, where he spent the last fifteen years of his life, 1649-1674. His life thus concerns the early history of these three most important French Antilles of the seventeenth century. The author has given an interesting account of this history and has rendered a service in rescuing from oblivion the name of one of the courageous French pioneer-colonists whose deeds add much to the glory of France. Scholars, however, will search in vain for any new facts of importance (aside from facts concerning the personal life of Orange) not related by Du Tertre or modern historians like Margry. There is evidence of considerable research in different depots of archives in Brittany and Normandy, and the author publishes (ch. XIII.) some interesting contracts for the transportation of colonists, engagement of indentured servants, etc. But for the most part his researches in these archives concern the more distinctly genealogical phase of his biography. This material and a few manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Colonial Office at Paris, and above all Du Tertre, whom he cites constantly, constitute the sources used by the author. He shows no evidence of having consulted in the Archives Coloniales the series F<sup>2</sup>, carton 15, concerning the Compagnie des Isles, or series C<sup>7</sup>, C<sup>8</sup>, for the correspondence from Guadeloupe and Martinique, or the important "Collection de Moreau de St. Méry".

Neither the author's evaluation of sources used nor his method of utilizing them will bear close analysis. Let us take, for instance, the three sources especially indicated by him (p. 36). "Two principal documents together with the history of Du Tertre permit one to reconstruct his [Orange's] life. The first is an official summary of his services inserted in a concession of privileges granted him by the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales in 1671 (referred to as *Exemption de 1671*). The other document is a very precious family memoir, drawn up in 1727 to gain the title of nobility (*Mémoire de 1727*)."

If one accepts the author's evaluation, we have here three sources of first-class importance. As to Du Tertre, there is no denying that, having been a personal friend of Orange, he is a most excellent guide both for a biography and for the early history of the Antilles. One bemoans the fact, however, that the author has not availed himself of the opportunity to make a critical study of that historian. He should not have accepted, for instance, Du Tertre's account of the English attack of 1667 on Fort Royal without consulting easily accessible English sources for the same event found in *Cal. St. P. Col., A. and W. I., 1661-1668*, nos. 1569-1570, 1575. As for the *Exemption de 1671*, published on pp. 418-420, one cannot regard it too seriously as an attempt to state accurately the events of Orange's life, but rather as a general tribute to his services. The author has certainly given an exaggerated value to the *Mémoire de 1727*. Any careful reading of that document will reveal the fact that it is based wholly upon Du Tertre and the *Exemption de 1671*. To the former it refers specifically four times, and in one case

gives a quotation verbatim; as to the latter there will not rest much doubt of the above statement, if one compares the passage in the two documents concerning Orange's forced expedition to Barbuda and then notices the specific reference to this document at folio 100 of the memoir. Space alone forbids an enumeration of several cases which prove the inaccurate character of the memoir. Thus the author's "très précieux mémoire" is not, correctly speaking, a source, and his three sources are reduced to two, one only being of great value. The present writer lays stress on these details because they throw light on the character of the author's work. By following the *Exemption de 1671* and the *Mémoire de 1727*, the one composed thirty-six years after the event and the other ninety-two, in reality only one source, the author gives Orange a prominent place in the initial expedition to colonize Guadeloupe (chs. VIII., IX., and X.). Du Tertre's account of the same expedition (I. 76 ff.) makes no mention of his name and an official document whose existence in the Archives Coloniales is indicated by the author himself (p. 104, note 2) rather implies the contrary. Furthermore a comparison of the passage in question of the *Exemption de 1671* with the corresponding passage in Du Tertre will reveal an inaccuracy of detail on the part of the former. This and many other cases show that the author fails to conform to some of the fundamental principles of modern historical scholarship.

Genealogists will find much to interest them on pp. 332-414, where the author traces in great detail the descendants of Guillaume d'Orange, in which list appear no less personages than the Empress Josephine and the present king of Sweden, to whom the book is dedicated.

STEWART L. MIMS.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*Der Kampf um die Herrschaft im Mittelmeer: Die Geschichtliche Entwicklung des Mittelmeerraums.* Von Dr. Paul Herre, Privatdozent an der Universität Leipzig. (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1909, pp. vii, 172.) As the author states in the preface, the design of this book is not to add new original material or to bring out newly discovered facts, but to emphasize by the skilful marshalling of comparatively well-known facts the geographical, political, and economic unity of the countries of Southern Europe, Asia Minor, and Northern Africa in the Mediterranean world, and to explain the ebb and flow of the currents of various civilizations among the many different peoples upon the shores of that great inland sea. Herr Herre concedes (chapter VII.) that at times this unity of the Mediterranean world becomes less sharply defined and its history tends to become merged in that of all Western Europe. Nevertheless, he is able to keep very close to a continuous narrative of Mediterranean questions affecting exclusively the countries around that sea. He shows originality in interpreting the essential characteristics of their peoples and civilizations.

The book resembles in character and scope the volumes of the *Citizens' Library*, and forms part of the *Bibliothek der Geschichtswissenschaft*, a similar collection. It is a book for the intelligent general reader, anxious to inform himself upon the various phases of the world's history, rather than for the experienced historical student. A bibliography arranged with chapter and page references to the text emphasizes this idea by giving scant place to primary sources while suggesting fairly well-chosen authorities (monographs especially) likely to be accessible to any German wishing to study more fully particular phases of the subject.

The result is a very compactly written book, marred by a few typographical errors, such as "Biblioahek" (p. 36) for "Bibliothek" and "ingenommenen" for "angenommenen", and in the index by the application of German rules of capitalization to English titles, faults due probably to the economy in proof-reading incident to publications at popular prices.

ARTHUR IRVING ANDREWS.

*Le Règne de Charles le Chauve (840-877)*. Première Partie (840-851). Par Ferdinand Lot et Louis Halphen. [Annales de l'Histoire de France à l'Époque Carolingienne.] (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1909, pp. vi, 232.) This volume is one of a collection that proposes to serve the same purpose for French history as the *Jahrbücher* do for German history. As France has no collection of annals comparable to that of Richter, nor of *regesta* of their kings, like the work of Mühlbacher, nor of the *acta* and *diplomata* of the French kings, the authors have thought it necessary to quote from the contemporary sources very extensively. These quotations, however, and all their references are put at the bottom of the page, and consequently their narrative thereby gains in fluency and clarity.

Some ten pages are devoted to a brief description of the reign of Ludwig the Pious and the various divisions of the empire which he attempted. Fifty-seven pages deal with the struggle of the brothers which was ended by the Treaty of Verdun, 843, and about 125 pages tell of the next eight years. In this arrangement the proper proportions are observed. The book is well edited; although it is the work of two men, there are no repetitions and no contradictions.

Although there is much that is new in the book, especially in regard to the itinerary of the king, his charters, and other things of that sort, there are not many new matters of great importance. The authors have quite properly put into high relief the assembly of Coulaines, 843, and have called attention to the fact that it marks an epoch in the development of the ascendancy of the Church. At that assembly the clergy were able to establish the principle that the king owes certain obligations, and his subjects are not bound to obey him unless he fulfills them. Several pages are filled with a discussion of the importance and meaning of this assembly.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XV.—27.

The itinerary of the king is traced in the most careful way, his *diplomata* are brought under tribute and compelled to furnish evidence, and every possible detail is ascertained. The book is a model of its kind.

The little work is a plain commentary on the shallow conception which the king had of his office; his one supreme thought was the acquisition of more territory. He never gave a serious thought to the other duties which his office laid upon him. This more than anything else shows how little progress the Germanic kings had made in civilization and how far removed they were from the modern ideas of kingship. In fact, nothing more clearly distinguishes the Middle Ages from the modern times than the conception of kingship which prevailed then.

O. J. THATCHER.

*Caen et Bayeux.* Par Henri Prentout, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Caen. [Les Villes d'Art Célèbres.] (Paris, Librairie Renouard, H. Laurens, Éditeur, 1909, pp. 152.) This volume, like the forty-one others in the useful series to which it belongs, is designed, not so much to serve the purpose of a guide, as to "prepare the intelligent and curious tourist to understand and analyze whatever he may see" in the towns described. The author is by profession an historian, rather than an archaeologist, but these subjects are not so sharply distinguished in France as in most other countries, and in connection with his course on Norman history at the University of Caen M. Prentout has been led to study with some care the principal monuments of this part of Lower Normandy. With the exception of the Bayeux tapestry, the artistic treasures of this region are almost wholly architectural, but the cathedral of Bayeux, the great abbey-churches of William the Conqueror and Matilda at Caen, and a number of lesser churches, timber-built houses, and Renaissance hotels constitute an interesting and significant group of monuments and are here treated clearly and on the whole accurately. The tapestry, which is of course quite unique, the author ascribes to the eleventh century and to Anglo-Saxon craftsmen, working very likely at the order of Bishop Odo, the famous half-brother of the Conqueror.

C. H. H.

*Jean de Bretagne, Comte de Richmond: Sa Vie et son Activité en Angleterre, en Écosse et en France (1266-1334).* Par Inna Lubimenko. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1908, pp. 160.) The author's statement that Jean de Bretagne is a character almost unknown in historical literature, except for a brief biographical sketch by M. Bémont, makes her work the more acceptable. It shows a scholarly method and a wide range of research, not only in the Rôles Gascons and other French documents, but also in those relating to England and Scotland. The chronicles give little information, but letters and orders of the king,

exchequer accounts, summons to the King's Council, Parliamentary writs, commissions to serve on special embassies, and other bits of evidence are brought together and woven into an interesting and lively narrative in which the personality and services of Jean de Bretagne stand forth in a clear light.

The author sets the reader right at the start by calling attention to the confusion which has existed between "Jean II. duc de Bretagne et comte de Richmond" and his younger son "Jean de Bretagne", who was never duke, and did not bear the title "comte de Richmond" till after the death of his father in 1306. Before this date the subject of this work is referred to as "neveu du roi" by the English chancellery.

Jean de Bretagne's career falls naturally into periods—in Gascony, Scotland, England, and, during his last days, in France. In military affairs he showed incapacity, if not cowardice, as appears at the siege of Rions and the battle of Bonnegarde. In civil affairs he was more efficient. He went on embassies to France, Scotland, and to the pope. He was lieutenant of Gascony under Edward I. and guardian of the realm of Scotland under Edward II. But it is in the struggle between Edward II. and his barons that he figures most prominently—among the "ordainers" in 1310, as negotiator between the two parties after the execution of Gaveston in 1313, in the permanent council of 1318, etc. During his later years he withdrew to France.

An excellent chapter is devoted to the county of Richmond, its geographical position, its economic life and administration. A map shows the location of the large number of *villae* scattered through seven counties of England, which composed the "Honneur de Richmond".

Jean de Bretagne was not a great man. We sometimes feel that he was a "trimmer". But he touched the life of his times at many points, and the story of that life is a welcome addition to the literature of that age.

The second part of Dr. Gisbert Brom's *Archivalia in Italië belangrijk voor de Geschiedenis van Nederland* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1909, pp. 465-1116) continues, upon the plan described in our notice (XIV. 656) of part I., the calendaring of specific documents of importance for Dutch history found in the archives of the Datary, the Consistory, and the Secretary of State, and in special Vatican collections like the Carte Farnesiane. Some 1350 documents are described, and a full index to the two parts is appended.

*Guillaume du Breuil: Stilus Curie Parlamenti.* Nouvelle édition Critique, publiée avec une Introduction et des Notes par Félix Aubert, Avocat, Archiviste-Paléographe. [Collection de Textes pour servir à l'étude et l'Enseignement de l'Histoire.] (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909, pp. lxxx, 259.) Guillaume de Breuil, a native of Figeac in Quercy, was a man of law who enjoyed a lucrative practice before the

Parlement of Paris in the first half of the fourteenth century. With unconcealed preference for the rich and influential, he had charge of litigation for such clients as King Edward II., the bishops of Laon and Pamiers, and the city of Narbonne, and had Pope Clement VI. as his friend; but his advocacy of Robert of Artois turned Philip VI. against him, while his avarice and unscrupulousness seem to have lost him the esteem of his colleagues. Suspended from practice from 1329 to 1332, he gave his leisure to preparing a treatise on the procedure of the Parlement and did his work so well that the popularity of his manual among students and practitioners ceased only when the legislation of the later sixteenth century rendered the book antiquated. Coming at a time when legal procedure was being profoundly modified by the spread of the Roman canonical system, the *Stilus Curie Parlamenti* is a source of capital importance, not only for the practice of the Parlement of Paris, but for the history of law in the later Middle Ages. Its method is concrete and practical, and it cites the *arrêts* of the Parlement quite as much as the Code or the Digest. Like Bracton, Du Breuil found his material mainly in the actual practice of the king's court, and, like its English predecessor, his treatise helps us to measure the range and power of the royal tribunal, while at the same time showing how profoundly its procedure differed from that of the English courts. The absence of any edition more recent than that of Dumoulin in 1558 has hindered the study of the *Stilus Curie*, and the new edition will be most welcome. M. Aubert was fitted for his task by his special familiarity with the history of the Parlement, and he has been particularly successful in disentangling the original text from the mass of corrections and annotations which early grew up about a work of such practical utility. The notes are helpful for their numerous reference to cases in the registers of the Parlement, as well as for the identification of persons and places.

C. H. H.

*Les Comptes du Roi René.* Publiés d'après les Originaux Inédits Conservés aux Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône. Tome Premier. Par l'Abbé G. Arnaud d'Agnel, Correspondant du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique pour les Travaux Historiques. (Paris, Picard et Fils, 1908, pp. xxviii, 409.) In 1873 M. Lecoq de la Marche published his well-known *Extraits des Comptes et Mémoires du Roi René pour servir à l'Histoire des Arts au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle*. In this work he passed over many historical sources not germane to his purpose, and the present book is an endeavor to utilize those omitted documents. The originals exist in the archives of the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône and are chiefly composed of the registers of the old Chamber of Accounts at Aix, and the registers of the King of Sicily, of Queen Jeanne de Laval, and the Duke of Calabria. In most cases the document has not been published in detail but a brief summary of its contents has been made instead,



after the manner of the *Calendars of State Papers*. While not omitting the history of art and archaeology, the editor has published a considerable amount of material dealing with the economic and social life of Provence in the fifteenth century.

The volume is divided into three parts, the first dealing with the domain in Anjou; the second with the king's domains in Provence; the third with the great artistic and aesthetic interests of René. The second volume—which in many ways will probably be more interesting—is to deal with the costume, the furniture, and, most interesting of all, the life and manners of the time. The brief introduction of the author, however, is designed to cover also the material to be included in the second volume.

As one reads page upon page of detailed facts respecting these domains, the minutiae of the seigneurial régime are unveiled. There is not space to go into the history of art and literature, which is enriched by a wealth of details contained in part III. One observation may be permitted. The king's library is astonishingly small and shows how pitifully narrow the literary interest of the cultured classes of France was before the influence of the Renaissance had penetrated.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

*Lettres Familières de Jérôme Aléandre (1510-1540)*. Par J. Paquier, Docteur ès-Lettres. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909, pp. iii, 183.) In this work Dr. Paquier brings together one hundred letters by and to Aleander which he had published during the last five years in the *Revue des Études Historiques*. The editor has used manuscripts in the Vatican, Bologna, and Munich with thoroughness and is perfectly familiar with the recent work on Aleander by Brieger, Hausrath, and Kalkoff by which he has profited in making certain corrections on the letters since he first edited them.

The most important part of Aleander's correspondence having already been published by Friedensburg (*Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, vol. III.), Wrede (*Reichstagsakten*, vol. II.), and Brieger (*Aleander und Luther*), the present collection has somewhat the character of a supplement. Its main value lies in the light it throws on the nuncio's private life, and even so it does not compare in intrinsic interest with his franker private diary recently published by Omont. Aleander was an ordinary person, after all, whose letters seem especially commonplace compared to those of his contemporaries, Erasmus, Luther, Dürer, and others.

The most valuable letters are those written at the time of the nunciature at the Diet of Worms (nos. 34-45). Among the details which these add to what was already known on the subject, perhaps the most suggestive is the nuncio's opinion of the part played by Erasmus in the reform movement, a side of that humanist's character made prominent by Dr. Kalkoff who has attributed to him several anonymous pamphlets

of this period (P. Kalkoff, *Die Vermittlungspolitik des Erasmus*, 1903). To Cardinal Pucci Aleander writes on October 24, 1520, with plain allusion to Erasmus (p. 61): "Quum enim haec omnis inferior Germania sit in Romanam aulam tum suoapte ingenio, tum incitatione cujusdam importunissimi hominis (cujus nomen alias aperiam) conturbata adeo ut in dies pejora moliantur . . ."

Several misprints have been noticed, especially in giving German titles.

PRESERVED SMITH.

*A Subsidy collected in the Diocese of Lincoln in 1526.* Edited by Rev. H. Salter. (London, Henry Frowde, 1909, pp. xvi, 348.) This document of the year 1528, extending to some 300 pages, furnishes an admirable glimpse of the English church at an especially critical period in its history. It is a list of payments of a tax levied upon the clergy of England, arranged according to diocese, archdeaconries, rural deaneries, and parishes. It includes the names of all those who paid the tax, and states the items of expense to be deducted before calculating the net profit of their benefices.

The most striking results that emerge from a study of this document may be enumerated as follows. A clear statement is given of what may be called the ecclesiastical geography of England, at least in its broader outlines. A vivid impression is obtained of the small incomes of the lower clergy, the large incomes of those who held the higher church positions. There is but little gradation; the income of the chaplain, curate, vicar or other occupant of one of the small benefices of England, reduced to modern value, seldom rises above four hundred dollars; that of the archdeacon or the holder of one of the cathedral offices seldom falls below four thousand. The heavily burdened financial condition of the monasteries is abundantly evident. More than half the income of many of them is eaten up by fixed charges. These are of the most varied character—regular payments to the pope, the king, the bishop, the cardinal, neighboring landholders, other monasteries, holders of corrodies, lawyers, and to many other non-religious or only remotely religious uses. To those who administered the finances of many of the monasteries, the confiscation of their possessions so shortly after this time must have seemed a welcome release from financial entanglements.

Much evidence is given, on the one hand, of the great income of Cardinal Wolsey, on the other hand, of his master mind. He receives many dues in many capacities, yet the collection of the whole tax was made according to a new assessment which he had ordered, this being the first reassessment of the church since 1291; and its exemptions, inclusions, and modifications bear the impress of his statesmanlike ability.

The editorial additions to the document are of the slightest, extending only to a preface of ten pages, an index, and an occasional

slight note. It is to be hoped that this valuable document will be widely recognized and studied for the light it throws on the condition of the English church on the eve of the Reformation.

E. P. C.

*Barbara Blomberg, die Geliebte Kaiser Karls V. und Mutter Don Juans de Austria: Ein Kulturbild des 16. Jahrhunderts.* Von Dr. Paul Herre. (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1909, pp. v, 160.) Barbara Blomberg, the young daughter of a Regensburg artisan, met the widowed Charles V. during his brief sojourn at the Diet of 1546. Her son, the later hero of Lepanto, was early taken from her to Spain and given an education worthy of his father. For Barbara herself Charles made easy provision by marrying her to one of his officers and by leaving her a small pension in his will. With this husband she removed from Regensburg to the Spanish Netherlands where she led a life which many considered too gay. When he stumbled upon his dagger with fatal results in 1569, she was left with a couple of children and destitute of support. It was just at this time that her other son was becoming famous for his suppression of the Moorish revolt. Neither he nor the world knew who his mother was, but Barbara speedily exploited her relation to him and secured through the Duke of Alva enough money and credit to set up an establishment of sixteen servants. Her gayety of life and recklessness of expenditure were such a cause of disquiet to Philip II. that she was eventually removed to Spain and lived in less freedom till her death in 1597. Hers was an unlovely life, but such a biography has a certain interest and value as illustrating one aspect of the times of Charles V. The author shows the same ingenuity, industry, and sound scholarship as in his earlier studies on this period.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*The Origin, the Organization, and the Location of the Staple of England.* A Thesis presented to the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania. By Adaline L. Jenckes. (Philadelphia, 1908, pp. 83.) "The object of this study is to throw some light on what the English Staple was, to explain the organization and methods of business, and to follow the changes in location to which it was subject from time to time." The first chapter of the little book treats of the origin and organization, the second of the officers, the third of the methods of business, and the fourth and last of the location.

The writer has contributed very little that is new to our knowledge of any of these topics, but she has rendered a useful service in grouping together interesting but scattered bits of information. Unfortunately she does not seem to have had access to the Staple Rolls among the Tower Records in the Public Record Office, a thorough use of which would seem to be indispensable to the study she has undertaken. Except for the Charters of 1561 and 1617 she quotes no manuscript sources

whatever. Indeed her idea of "sources" seems a little vague, for she lists under that head Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce* and Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*. As a result she indulges too frequently in speculation. Thus: "doubtless" all home staples had an organization similar to that of Southampton; it is "probable" that there were home staples during the entire period after 1353; we have no knowledge of qualifications for admission but there was "probably" an entrance fee; and the question, "Was there any connection between the local home staples and the foreign English Staple" is propounded but left unanswered.

The acceptability of the study as a thesis presented to the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania is for that faculty to determine; its usefulness to students of economic history consists in its presentation, in brief space and proper sequence, of facts about the Staple that have already been printed.

T. W. P.

Dr. G. W. Kernkamp's *Baltische Archivalia* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1909, pp. xxii, 364), prepared at the instance of the Commission on National Historical Publications, is a guide to the materials for Dutch history to be found in the archives of Stockholm, Copenhagen, and the German Baltic towns—Kiel, Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Stettin, Danzig, and Königsberg. The data are the result of a governmental mission. Copenhagen and Danzig figure most largely, each occupying about a third of the volume. Stockholm archives were fully dealt with, those of Copenhagen partially, in the author's *Skandinavische Archivalia* of 1903. The later Dutch materials at Copenhagen and those at Danzig and the other South Baltic towns afford copious and most interesting materials for the history of Dutch diplomatic and commercial relations respectively. In the case of Danzig there are also ecclesiastical archives, of the Reformed and Mennonite communities.

*Despatches from Paris, 1784-1790.* Selected and edited from the Foreign Office Correspondence by Oscar Browning, M.A., V.-P. R. Hist. S. Volume I., 1784-1787. [Camden Third Series, Volume XVI.] (London, The Society, 1909, pp. xi, 278.) Fifteen years ago (1885) the Cambridge University Press published the despatches of Lord Gower, sent from Paris during the period June, 1790, to August, 1792. They were edited by Mr. Browning. The present volume contains the despatches sent from Paris by Lord Dorset and Mr. Hailes in the years 1784-1787 and is to be followed by a second volume filling the gap between 1787 and 1790. Although Mr. Browning is the editor, his serious illness has made it necessary to leave the introduction and index of the whole work for the last volume. Mr. Browning's illness was not the only handicap from which the work suffered. The mighty crop of errata—four solid pages for about forty pages of text—was due to the

virtuosity of the typist, who "occasionally paraphrased the transcripts, known to be reliable". A more careful reading of the text would add to the list of errors.

Dorset was of slight weight as a diplomatist. Some of his despatches would not have been briefer had they been sent by cable and paid for by the word. Hailes was a man of different calibre; his despatches contain more information and show a better grasp of the meaning of events. No. 49, written from Fontainebleau (October 25, 1786), is a full and illuminating description of the condition of the French government and court on the eve of the meeting of the Notables.

On the whole, the letters add little to our knowledge either of diplomatic relations or of the internal condition of France during this period. They are confined very largely to the first kind of information, but treat even that in a most niggardly way. It would have been tantalizing to the ministers in London had they possessed no other source of information. Fortunately they were not wholly dependent on Dorset. The diplomatic questions that engaged the attention of the English government in the years 1784-1787 were the French-Dutch defensive alliance of 1784, the trouble between Austria and Holland over the opening of the Scheldt, the overthrow of the republican party and the ruin of French influence in Holland by England and Prussia, and the activity of France in the eastern Mediterranean and in India. After the work of Colenbrander, containing the transcripts of the bulk of the foreign correspondence concerning the first three questions, the despatches of Dorset and Hailes seem poor indeed. They do, however, supplement, in some minor points, the despatches of the English minister at the Hague. Concerning the activities of France in the Mediterranean, the information is more valuable and throws good side-lights on the work of the Revolution and of Napoleon. For internal affairs, the most significant portion of the despatches concerns the Assembly of the Notables. Even this is scrappy, containing only here and there a nugget for those who are familiar with the French sources and the despatches of the Austrian minister, Count Mercy.

The dates on the back of the volume should read "1784-1787" and not "1784-1786".

FRED MORROW FLING.

*The French Revolution: a Short History.* By R. M. Johnston, M.A. Cantab., Assistant Professor of History in Harvard University. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1909, pp. vii, 283.) This little volume is an attempt to "disentangle from the mass of details the shape, the movement, the significance of the great historical cataclysm", to "catch its perspective" and "proportion". The method and style are essentially dramatic; men, parties, and movements are vigorously portrayed and play their parts clearly; too clearly at times, in the light of the complexity of forces and motives underlying the development of the

Revolution. The crisis of Thermidor, for example, is attributed too exclusively to Carnot, as is the freeing of the accused from their temporary arrest to Hanriot. The account (p. 219) of the activity of St. Just is a little obscure. But these, like the "6th of October" (p. 85) instead of the 5th, are minor faults. More serious exception is to be taken to the statement (p. 125) that the constitution of 1791 is prefaced by "a declaration of the rights of man that stamps the whole as a piece of class legislation". Is it not just this declaration that is out of accord with the class legislation of the constitution, the distinction between active and passive citizens, based upon property? In view of this the explanatory foot-note also needs revision.

The treatment of economic and social conditions when this phase of the subject is introduced is excellent. Indeed it might well receive greater emphasis from a writer who avowedly seeks the perspective of the Revolution in "the gradual political education and coming to power of the masses" (p. 9). Space for this could be found by condensing the first chapter, which is taken up with a survey of secondary writers, into an introduction, where it properly belongs. The brief chapter on art and literature is suggestive and, coming at the end, revives the impression of the vigor and freshness of the work as a whole. Some knowledge of the Revolution would seem necessary for a thorough understanding of the work, but even to the uninitiated it will be interesting and thoroughly readable, serving well as a companion volume to the author's *Napoleon*.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

*Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, par Charles Borgeaud, Professeur aux Facultés de Droit et des Lettres. *L'Académie de Calvin dans l'Université de Napoléon, 1798-1814* (Genève, Georg et Compagnie, 1909, pp. xiii, 251). On the occasion of the fourth centenary of Calvin, Professor Borgeaud brings out a second volume of his official history of his university. The first of these sumptuous volumes gave in most attractive form the history of the Academy of Calvin, so important to the intellectual history of Europe, from its foundation in 1559 to the annexation of the republic of Geneva by France in 1798; the third will present its history in the nineteenth century, since 1814. The present volume begins with the visit of General Bonaparte in 1796, and then, proceeding to 1798, describes the organization effected under the Directory, and the division of functions between the Société Économique and the Société Académique. Under both the Directory and the Consulate, the chief interest of the story lies in the struggle between certain centralizing officials, especially prefects, endeavoring to introduce large innovations, and the Genevese professors and other conservatives, bent on maintaining a moral autonomy when political independence had departed. Although under the Empire the decree of 1808 establishing the Imperial University was followed by action reorganizing the Genevese

school into one of the academies of that university, the spirit of the old academy of Calvin survived in sufficient measure to ensure continuance of much of what was best in the old régime, including a degree of independence disquieting to Napoleon. The volume describes in detail the development of instruction in the four faculties and has many admirable characterizations of the leading members of the teaching body. It concludes with an index to the first and second volumes.

*Les Corsaires: Mémoires et Documents Inédits.* Par Henri Malo. (Paris, Société du *Mercur de France*, 1908, pp. 384.) There has been no attempt made in the volume indicated above to write a history of the corsairs. The author indeed gives a short sketch (ch. I.) of that history from the third to the nineteenth century and points out the importance of the rôle played by the daring corsairs of western France during that period, but this sketch serves rather as a background for the rest of the book. The importance of the author's work is to be found rather in the publication which he makes of a relatively large amount of unpublished documents, of family memoirs, and of miscellaneous data concerning the corsairs of Boulogne, papers found for the most part in the departmental archives of Pas-de-Calais, of Boulogne, and in the hands of some of the descendants of certain corsairs. He has published, for instance (chs. II. and III.), some most interesting data concerning the cost of building and equipping the ships of the corsairs, their profits, their tactics, and the rules which governed them; and in the appendix (pp. 323-379) "*Le Livre d'Or des Corsaires Boulonnais*", a chronological and alphabetical list of the captain-corsairs of Boulogne, with the dates of their activity, names of their vessels, and the tonnage of the same. All of these data will prove of considerable value to all students of commerce, navigation, and filibustering. The author has combined in an unusually interesting way large extracts of such sources, to relate the thrilling episodes in the lives of such daring corsairs as Jacques Broquant, Charles Dunand, and especially of J.-O. Fourmentin, all of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. By the publication (pp. 176-319) of the "*Notes*" written by the eldest son of this old hero, the author gives a most striking account of that corsair's brilliant record of ninety-nine captures, of many daring attacks upon the English, and of his very interesting interview with Napoleon, when the great emperor appealed to him for advice on the eve of his projected attack upon England.

It is to be hoped that the author will continue his researches and attempt a history of the French corsairs. He gives evidence of possessing the qualities necessary for such an undertaking.

STEWART L. MIMS.

*Souvenirs et Fragments pour servir aux Mémoires de ma Vie et de mon Temps*, par le Marquis de Bouillé (Louis-Joseph-Amour), 1769-



1812. Publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par P.-L. de Kermaingant. Tome II., Mai 1792-Mars 1806. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1908, pp. 598.) This second volume of the *Souvenirs* of the Marquis de Bouillé was written during the years 1830 (p. 43), 1831, and 1832 (pp. 407, 444). The discovery of the fact that the second volume was not begun before 1830 has led the reviewer to the reconsideration of the date of writing of the first. He settled upon 1828 as the date (AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XII. 924) because of the date of the introduction, August 8, 1828, and because in the introduction Bouillé stated that he had "written the account of all the military affairs in which he took part from the beginning of the year 1806 to the end of 1812". It is true that there was a foot-note (p. 463) with a reference to a work published in July, 1829, and another foot-note (p. 278) referring to the year 1828 as if it were past; these might, of course, have been added later. A reference in the text to 1828 (p. 295) allowed a double interpretation. Everything considered, the inference that the first volume was written in 1828 and that the whole work was complete in August of that year seemed to be justifiable. The data of the second volume change the conditions of the problem. That volume certainly was not written in 1828. The campaigns from 1806-1812 may have been written before 1828, even before the writing of the second volume, and together with the first volume may have been complete in August, 1828. If the third volume when it appears makes this hypothesis untenable, and the date of the introduction is correct, the conclusion of the whole matter would seem to be that the introduction was written when the work was begun and that the writing of the first volume occupied the last months of 1828 and the whole of 1829.

In this second volume Bouillé gets beyond the published memoirs of his father and himself and supplies us with a large amount of new material. Many letters addressed to himself or to his father, written by Louis XVIII., the Comte d'Artois, the Prince de Condé, the King of Prussia and his ministers, and other well-known individuals are reproduced in full and compose a large part of the text. Other sources of information are notes taken by Bouillé at the time and incorporated in the text in their original form, the memoirs of contemporaries, published previous to 1830, and his own recollections of the events in which he took part. Bouillé served for a time with the emigrants under the Prince de Condé; later he commanded a cavalry regiment, raised by himself and taken into English pay; he served in the Low Countries and took part in one of the expeditions against France which attempted to get a footing on the coast of Brittany. Although his regiment was finally broken up, he remained upon the pay-roll of the English government until his return to France, after the peace of Amiens, and his entrance into the service of the Empire. He had swung around the circle and the volume in which he describes his life during these years

of exile is not only an important source of information upon the emigration but a most fascinating human document.

FRED MORROW FLING.

*The Armenian Awakening: a History of the Armenian Church, 1820-1860.* By Leon Arpee. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1909, pp. xi, 235.) This is a most valuable contribution to the history of the Armenians. It does not waste time trying to distinguish between the legendary and the historical in the earlier periods, neither does it cater to popular prejudice by enlarging upon the sufferings endured at the hands of the Turkish government. It does take up the very period about which few, even of those who have written most on the subject, seem to be well posted, and which must be understood if the position of these people is to be appreciated. It outlines with clearness and with not too much detail the theological differences between the Armenians and the Greeks and Roman Catholics, and the efforts of the latter to absorb them. It explains the inroads of Paulicianism, that somewhat uncertain element in early and medieval church life which was the despair of historians, until its "Key of Truth" was discovered in the hands of an Armenian priest; traces the connection between the independence of thought, the not unnatural result of the persecutions and the comparative isolation of the communities, and the awakening of the past century in educational and civic as well as religious life, and gives a remarkably clear and impartial view of the relation of American missions and the Protestant Armenian Church to that awakening.

This last will be of particular interest both to those who have hesitated as to the wisdom of an attempt to replace one form of Christianity by another, and to those who are so thoroughly convinced of the essential degeneracy of all non-Protestant bodies that they look with disapproval, even dismay, upon the evident trend of American missions to Armenians to revert to the original plan and emphasize the growth of spiritual life in the Old Church rather than the development of a distinctively Protestant church.

In close connection with this there is a chapter of great value and interest on the Struggle for Democracy, in which the peculiar civil organization of the Turkish Empire is outlined, and its effect upon the non-Moslem communities is presented in a clear and fair-minded manner. There are numerous quotations from the famous Turkish edicts, and a brief but sufficient statement, in an appendix, of the recent political changes in the Turkish Empire.

While by no means exhaustive, the book is informing and, what is still better, stimulating, and an excellent bibliography furnishes to the student the basis for still further investigation if it be desired.

EDWIN MUNSELL BLISS.

*La Crise de l'Histoire Révolutionnaire: Taine et M. Aulard.* Par Augustin Cochin, Archiviste Paléographe. (Paris, Honoré Champion,

1909, pp. 103.) M. Cochin's monograph is a reply to Aulard's criticism of Taine's history of the Revolution. According to M. Cochin, Aulard's book represents the last despairing effort of the party of the "défense républicaine" in its struggle to escape nemesis in the form of Taine's new and more scientific conception of the Revolution. The sole method to avert disaster was to disprove the foundation of fact upon which the superstructure rested. Hence Aulard's attack on Taine. What, in the opinion of M. Cochin, was the result of M. Aulard's criticism of Taine's methods of work? "The work of Taine", he assures us (p. 17), "has the rare good fortune of receiving from an adversary, as partial as he is learned, the baptism of fire. It receives the sole consecration that it lacks: that of the thirty years of erudition of M. Aulard. Every fact advanced by Taine will have from now on two guarantors: the learning of the author who affirms it, the passion of the critic who contests it." The American scholar, who is in a position to judge independently of Taine and his method, will hardly take the book of M. Cochin seriously. It is interesting, suggestive in some places, but it has too much of the tone of a political pamphlet and bears too clearly the impress of the amateur, who did not understand the real point at issue—scientifically speaking—between Taine and Aulard, to make it a real contribution to the literature of historical method. The charges against Taine are definite enough and it ought to be possible for the specialists on the Revolution to examine their validity without having the personality, politics, or scientific work of M. Aulard dragged into the investigation. It is charged that Taine was unsuited by temperament for patient, detached, scientific work; that he never received the specific training that prepared him for historical research; that he investigated his subject superficially; that he neglected whole categories of important sources; that he treated the sources which he did use uncritically; and that he distorted the synthesis of the Revolution by ignoring the struggle against reaction in France and the war with Europe. To the consideration of these questions Aulard devoted a volume of three hundred and thirty pages of solid matter; M. Cochin disposes of them all in a dozen pages. It is hardly sufficient.

FRED MORROW FLING.

Professor Charles A. Beard has prepared a collection of *Readings in American Government and Politics* (Macmillan, pp. xxiii, 624), designed primarily to be used in connection with his forthcoming work, *American Government and Politics*. The book is divided into three parts, Historical Foundations, the Federal Government, State Government, and within each part appear groups of selections relating to the principal phases of our political life and government. A source-book is almost necessarily a body of illustrative material, with no aim at completeness. To cover the whole range of politics in a single volume, especially of modern politics in the United States, is impossible. It is

therefore much a matter of individual predilection what particular features the compiler will illustrate and what illustrations he will use. A striking feature of this book is the rather unusual character of many of the illustrations and the unexpected sources from which some of them are drawn. All sorts of official publications are drawn upon and the periodical press is made to furnish its quota of extracts. In point of time the material is brought about as near to the present moment as can well be, as witness the chapter on national resources and some selections relating to municipal problems. Local government other than municipal is rather scantily represented.

*State Publications: a Provisional List of the Official Publications of the Several States of the United States from their Organization.* Compiled under the editorial direction of R. R. Bowker. (New York, Office of the *Publishers' Weekly*, 1908, pp. xii, 1031.) This large and important bibliographical volume is made up by combining the four parts which have already been issued in 1899, 1902, 1905, and 1908, comprising respectively New England, the North Central, Western, and Southern states. It represents a prodigious labor of love, firstly on the part of Mr. Bowker and his aids, and secondly on the part of public-spirited officials of state libraries. By their aid, a great class of printed matter, having distinct value for purposes of history, economics, and political science, but which was exceedingly hard to employ for want of systematic guidance, has been lifted one stage nearer to the student's hand and placed in the way of recognition and appreciation. Not less than twenty-five thousand distinct publications are catalogued, in lists beginning with the organization of each state and extending in general to 1900, with supplemental lists for the colonial periods. The plan is that of a check-list. The arrangement is, first, by states in geographical order. Under each state the order followed is: constitutions and the publications of constitutional conventions, those of executive and staff officers, those of officers of inspection and regulation, those of state institutions, those of the judiciary and the legislature and its branches and committees. Though it has not been possible, in some states, to present the matter with all the bibliographical completeness desired, the work has been thoroughly well executed, as far as the reviewer's inspection of the book and knowledge enable him to judge where so vast a wilderness of printed matter is concerned as that which is here listed. Mr. Bowker will deserve the gratitude of many investigators.

*Select Orations illustrating American Political History*, selected and edited by Samuel Bannister Harding, Ph.D., with an introduction on oratorical style and structure, and notes, by John Mantel Clapp, A.M. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. xxx, 519). The purpose of the compiler of these selections is to gather into the compass of a single volume, suitable for use in schools and elsewhere, the most noteworthy orations which have exerted an important influence on

political action or political opinion in America at the time when they were delivered. Considerations of oratorical excellence, while not disregarded, are secondary. It is the editor's view that in the utterances of our public men will be found a synopsis of our political history. Here are altogether thirty-four speeches, most of them abbreviated and compressed, ranging from James Otis to Booker T. Washington, gathered into five groups. Five of these orations relate to the Revolution, four to the adoption of the Constitution, six to the period between 1796 and 1830, six to the slavery contest, and twelve to the Civil War and Reconstruction. It would scarcely be in place to raise a question with regard to the selection. Judged by the criterion laid down many more might have been included; another editor would no doubt make some substitutions. It is sufficient that the speeches here grouped meet admirably the main purpose of the volume. A feature of the book is the historical introductions which present succinctly the setting of each oration. Professor Clapp's introduction on oratorical style and structure is given specific application to these selections and, together with his notes, which are segregated at the back of the volume, will be helpful in reaching an appreciative attitude, although it may be questioned whether the notes do not deal with the speeches in too positive and summary a fashion. Without doubt the book meets a genuine need.

*Henry Hudson in Holland: an Inquiry into the Origin and Objects of the Voyage which led to the Discovery of the Hudson River.* With Bibliographical Notes by Hen. C. Murphy. Reprinted, with Notes, Documents, and a Bibliography, by Wouter Nijhoff, Hon. Secretary to the "Linschoten-Vereeniging". (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1909, pp. xii, 150.) After the lapse of half a century Henry C. Murphy's privately printed pamphlet of seventy-two pages still stands as the best treatise on Hudson's third voyage and the circumstances which led to the exploration of the Hudson River. In this pamphlet Mr. Murphy explained the importance of the Hessel Gerritsz. tracts for a knowledge of the navigator's ulterior plans and published certain extracts from the records of the Dutch East India Company which remained unknown to Asher when he compiled his monograph for the Hakluyt Society in 1860. The scarcity of the pamphlet has long been a matter of regret and the present reprint is therefore welcome. Mr. Nijhoff has omitted the frontispiece portrait of Dirck van Os, one of the signers of Hudson's contract, but has improved upon the original publication by giving the vernacular texts of all the documents used and by adding a number of notes and an elaborate bibliographical description of the printed sources. In respect to these last two features the work is not altogether satisfactory, for Mr. Nijhoff has in the notes failed to distinguish his own statements from those of the author and in the bibliography has devoted a disproportionate amount of space to the Hessel Gerritsz. tracts, while mentioning but a single edition of van Meteren,

that of 1611, in which the account of Hudson's third voyage is said to have appeared for the first time. How inadequate this treatment is will be understood when it is stated that the New York State Library has a quarto edition of van Meteren's *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Oorlogen* (1611), in which the account of Hudson's voyage occurs on another folio than that given by Mr. Nijhoff and differs in more than 150 details from the text reproduced on pp. 119-121 of the reprint, while a third text, with still other variations, is found in a folio edition without date, entitled *Het tweede Deel van de Commentarien*, in the possession of Mrs. J. B. Thacher of Albany, which claims to be the only genuine edition and which may have been printed in 1610. The typographical execution of the reprint is excellent, the translations are satisfactory, and the transcripts, so far as they can be compared, are accurate, though as a rule the capitalization and contractions have not been followed.

A. J. F. VAN LAER.

In commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of Quebec, Colonel J. L. Hubert Neilson, the owner of the manuscript, has printed in an edition of three hundred copies intended for private distribution a photographic *Facsimile of Père Marquette's Illinois Prayer Book*. The manuscript, of 176 small pages, is in the handwriting of Father Claude Allouez, who, preceding Marquette in the acquisition of the language, doubtless prepared the volume for the latter's use. Father Cazot, the last of the old French Jesuits, gave it about 1798 to Colonel Neilson's grandfather. Portraits of Marquette and Cazot, the former discovered a few years ago, are reproduced in the book.

*The Transition in Illinois from British to American Government.* By Robert Livingston Schuyler, Ph.D., Instructor in History in Yale University. (New York, The Columbia University Press, 1909, pp. xi, 145.) This work is a thesis presented to the faculty of the University of Columbia for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and in accordance with the requirements of the university has been printed immediately. This necessity is regrettable, since the most important material for the history of the period is to be published within a year by the Illinois State Historical Library, and without access to these unpublished sources no definitive treatment of the subject that has been chosen can be written. Although there is an excuse for not having consulted unprinted volumes, the author should have made an effort to obtain transcripts of such important documentary material as is contained in the New York State Library, the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Draper Manuscripts, the Library of Congress, the Haldimand Collection, and the Public Record Office of London; but there is no evidence in the volume of a use of these collections, except references to the inadequate calendar of the Haldimand Collection, in the *Reports* of the Canadian Archives. It is, there-

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fore, not to be expected that the book contains a decided contribution to the knowledge of the West during the period when the dominion over that region passed from Great Britain to the United States. Instead, the value of the book lies in the careful résumé of the knowledge of Illinois history as it is extant at present in book form; but since that knowledge is continually changing, owing to the present activities of Western scholars, Dr. Schuyler's book will not even retain that value long. With this limitation of the scope of the work, it is well done; and the author has shown considerable critical acumen in determining the value of the material to which he had access. The first two chapters and a half give a summary of the British administration of Illinois. Since there has been no attempt to study the ministerial policy from the British viewpoint and the author has not understood the changing Western policy of the successive ministries, there is nothing novel in the treatment. The remaining chapters contain the history of the Illinois country during the Revolutionary War, and are the most satisfactory of the book. The last chapter deals with the Treaty of Paris, 1783; and the discussion of the negotiations concerning the West between the various states is very suggestive.

*George Michael Bedinger: a Kentucky Pioneer*, by Danske Dandridge (Charlottesville, the Michie Company, 1909, pp. iv, 232), is more a story of pioneer days in Kentucky than a biography. Bedinger was a type of those sturdy characters who conquered the western wilderness, but in the earlier pages of this volume he is little more than a type. The stage is set with elaborate description of pioneer conditions, across which the hero now and then walks. Later, when the material out of which to construct a biography is not so scant, we are enabled to get a better view of the man himself. He was born in York County, Pennsylvania, in 1756, saw considerable service in the Revolutionary army, where we get brief glimpses of him, but between his short enlistments he was drawn for a while into Kentucky, whither he afterward returned, to spend the remainder of his life. Several of his adventures in exploration and in Indian fighting are given in detail, and something of his history after he had settled down. He was commissioned a major in 1791 and was in St. Clair's ill-fated expedition. Later in life he entered politics and was for two terms (1803-1807) a member of Congress. Of his political career not much is said; too little the author concluded upon second thought, and so added a brief account in an appendix. The book is readable, although the student of history might contend that there has been too little sifting of evidence, too much gratuitous conjecture. The point of view of the writer was probably different. Her aim appears to have been to construct from the fragmentary materials to be found, printed accounts, scant official records, letters, pioneer and family traditions, as nearly as possible a portrait of the man, placed in the most favorable light.



*The Transitional Period, 1788-1790, in the Government of the United States.* By Frank Fletcher Stephens, Ph.M., Ph.D., Instructor in American History. [The University of Missouri Studies, edited by W. G. Brown.] (Columbia, Mo., University of Missouri, 1909, pp. vii, 126.) This monograph hardly meets the expectation aroused by the title, preface, and opening paragraphs of the introduction. One is led to expect a somewhat thoughtful treatment of the period in the history of the United States covering the transition from a confederation to a national government. In reality there is little more than a bare statement of facts regarding the first election of United States senators, representatives, presidential electors, and the effect of the new Constitution upon state laws already in operation.

The bibliography is unsatisfactory but the foot-notes show that a large mass of material must have been examined, and one regrets that the author did not avail himself of the opportunity to put a little flesh and blood upon the dry bones of the skeleton. Yet one ought not to expect too much from a doctoral thesis, and that is what this monograph is. It can hardly be called interesting but it is a useful compilation and contains many facts not readily accessible elsewhere. It annoys one with its omissions but inspires confidence as to its accuracy. It stops so abruptly that the reader finds himself in the index before he is aware of it, and the index is excellent.

*The Conflict over Judicial Powers in the United States to 1870.* By Charles Grove Haines, Ph.D., Professor of History and Political Science, Ursinus College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law in Columbia University, Volume XXXV., No. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1909, pp. 180.) Dr. Haines has attempted to cover too large a field. The conflicts over judicial power in the United States before 1870 related to three groups of subjects: (1) The power of courts to declare unconstitutional the laws of co-ordinate legislative bodies; that is, the power of state courts to declare state laws unconstitutional and of federal courts to declare federal laws unconstitutional; (2) the power of the Supreme Court of the United States to review state judicial decisions and to declare invalid state laws conflicting with the federal constitution or with federal statutes; this is primarily a question as to state and federal relations; (3) the conflicts of the courts with the state and federal executives and with the people. These three subjects have little in common except that they all involve the courts, and the effort to treat them together has resulted in a lack of clearness and unity. Moreover, the brief space at the author's disposal has made it impossible for him to discuss any one of his subjects in a satisfactory manner.

The subject which suffers most is that of the judicial power to annul legislation, and with respect to this matter the author adds practically nothing to our knowledge. He is ignorant of much of the work which

has been done by others in this field, and this ignorance frequently leads him into positive error, although the principal defect of his discussion is that it is not sufficiently full. In treating the subject of judicial power over legislation in England Dr. Haines might well have made use of Pollock's *First Book of Jurisprudence*, pp. 250-255, where that author effectually disposes of the view that the English courts ever exercised the power of annulling legislation; however, the important question is not what the English courts did, but what the people of the time thought they did, and this fact should have been brought out by Dr. Haines. The discussion of early state cases in which laws were declared unconstitutional does not take account of the case of *Josiah Philips* (which was discussed by Professor W. P. Trent in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, I. 444-454); nor is the case of *United States v. Yale Todd* mentioned in the treatment of early federal decisions regarding the unconstitutionality of legislation. Professor F. M. Anderson's article on "Contemporary Opinion of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions" (*AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, V. 45-63, 225-252) would have been of assistance to the author in the discussion of these resolutions, and might have caused a modification of his statement that the legislatures of the other states, in their answers to those resolutions, came out "unanimously and unequivocally in favor of the view that the Supreme Court of the United States was vested with the full and ultimate authority to determine the validity of legislative acts of Congress" (p. 58).

W. F. DODD.

*A Century of Population Growth, from the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900.* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1909, pp. x, 303.) Six years ago the records relating to the earlier censuses of the United States were transferred by the Department of the Interior to the custody of the Director of the Census. From the data preserved from the First Census, the Census Office has lately been publishing volumes containing lists of the heads of families returned to that census, and these have been properly valued for purposes of local history and genealogy. To these is now added this excellent and handsome volume, prepared by Mr. W. S. Rossiter, summing up the statistical results which can still be derived by a modern expert from the old materials, somewhat as a modern English metallurgical company has derived profitable returns of silver from the slag of the ancient Athenian mines of Laurium.

One cannot in brief space summarize or review a quarto volume of varied statistics, but the historical student interested in the United States of about 1790 will find in it a great deal to interest and instruct him. From the schedules of the First Census and other contemporary materials a "Statistical Abstract" of the United States in 1790 has been obtained, covering area, population white and negro, families, names,

nationality, migration, transportation, slavery, occupations, etc., with many ingenious tables and diagrams, and a number of excellent reproductions of maps of the period in question.

While the attempt to derive statistics of national origin from the surnames of the schedules is interesting, is guarded in expression, and its results must be approximately correct, we do not see that allowance has been made for the fact that foreign immigrants may frequently have assumed English-sounding names which were translations of their original appellations. Why should there have been more Littles in Pennsylvania than anywhere else except because there were vastly more Kleins?

Besides discussions and tabulations relating to 1790, the volume contains many which review subsequent development in various lines of comparison, while forty pages give the results of those provincial and state censuses which were taken before 1790, material everyone will be glad to have in compact and combined form.

*Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802*, by John Davis, with an introduction and notes by A. J. Morrison (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1909, pp. xi, 429). This is a reprint of the original edition (London, 1803) of John Davis's *Travels*, an amended edition of which was issued in London in 1817. John Davis was a professional writer, although his literary career had but barely begun when, as a young man, he came to the United States seeking a livelihood. Here he became a sort of itinerant pedagogue, publishing meanwhile some volumes of poems, novels, etc. About one-third of this volume of travels is concerned with the author's life as a tutor in South Carolina and another considerable portion with a similar experience in Virginia. Not a few of the pages embody observations on life in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, with emphasis usually upon literary activities. From the modern point of view Davis was something of a pedant, and his pages frequently bristle with classical quotations or delusions. These the editor of this edition has endeavored to trace to their sources, usually with success. The editor also helps us to identify many of the lesser personages mentioned in the narrative, and has elucidated many references to customs and events that have become obscured. Perhaps the greatest service which he has performed is in pointing us to the comments of other travellers on similar themes or in quoting these passages *in extenso*. There are times indeed when the reader will wish for help and find none; and there are also times when he may feel curious to know the mental processes which led the editor to write certain footnotes; but the annotator has his prerogatives. The introduction is pleasing and helpful, and includes an autobiographical sketch of the author of these travels. Some sort of index or table of contents might appropriately have been supplied.

*Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West.* By William F. Gephart, Ph.D., Instructor in Economics, Ohio State University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Volume XXXIV., Number 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1909, pp. 273.) In this study an attempt is made "to correlate the development in transportation with the industrial development" in Ohio. Twelve chapters are devoted to transportation, from Indian trails to inter-urbans, and two chapters treat of the industrial development, 1788 to 1900. Of special importance are chapters VIII. and XII., on the development of highways since 1810; chapter IX., on the Constitution of 1851 and the changes effected in the problems of industry and transportation; and chapter X., on the development of the railway system. The fact that Ohio is treated as "the transportation valley between the east and the west and the north and the south" (p. 16) lends interest to the study.

The task assumed by Mr. Gephart may be well worth while but it is to be regretted that he has attempted so much and that he has paid so little attention to the proper presentation of the material. The research has been extensive and much new material has been collected but it is not clear that the results of the study are positive and definite. This is due in part to the vagueness of the subject and to the attempt to cover too much ground, but it is due in no small part to a tendency to overload the text with details not well arranged and of doubtful importance. The reader looks in vain for proper generalizations, while the absence of summaries at the ends of chapters or at the end of the book deprives him of the assistance due from that quarter.

There are some minor evidences of haste in construction. Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Marietta, and Detroit were not "the earliest points settled in the west" (p. 24). The statement that "something was accomplished by the federal government" in the development of highways in Ohio requires explanation (p. 137). The statement (p. 24) that "the Ohio River did not become an extensively used route until after 1800" is novel and in view of assertions to the contrary reasons should be given. The title of the book is broader than the field of investigation, and the title of chapter VI. as given in the table of contents does not agree with the title in the text. The bibliography is not properly classified, is not critical, and is not entirely accurate.

JULIAN P. BRETZ.

*Index to Reports of Canadian Archives from 1872 to 1908.* [Publications of the Canadian Archives, no. 7.] (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1909, pp. xi, 231.) From the establishment of the Canadian Archives Branch in 1872 until 1882 its reports were merely supplements to the report of the Minister of Agriculture. From 1883 to 1905 they filled separate volumes, composed in a somewhat casual manner, and for the

most part without indexes, though full of details. A general index to the great mass of historical data presented in these twenty-five volumes would be a boon, though its making would be laborious and expensive. The present volume, the first of the series of bulletins in which the Archives will henceforward present their historical data and results, is a much less ambitious affair. It gives, with considerable amplifications, the tables of contents of the successive reports. This makes a useful manual for those consulting that difficult series. But the amplifications are carried out unevenly and with less labor than might have been expected; many small improvements, which might have remedied some of the confusion and corrected some of the defects of the reports, have been neglected; modern changes of nomenclature and classification in foreign archives have not been introduced; not a few old errors have been allowed to remain, and not a few new ones committed, especially in French words; and the index is far from good.

*El Sitio de Puebla en 1863, segun los Archivos de D. Ignacio Comonfort, General en Jefe del Ejército del Centro, y de D. Juan Antonio de la Fuente, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores.* [Documentos Inéditos ó Muy Raros para la Historia de México, publicados por Genaro García, Tomo XXIII.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1909, pp. 264.) Señor García has printed in this latest volume of documents on the history of Mexico a selection of one hundred and fifteen letters, telegrams, and reports upon the siege and capture of Puebla by the French in 1863. His material is derived chiefly from the papers of General Comonfort, in command of the Army of the Centre at the time, and of Minister de la Fuente of the Department of Foreign Affairs. Señor García's editorial method leaves his readers quite in the dark as to the number and character of pertinent documents in his hands but not included in the present volume—we are told simply that the book contains those considered most important. And indeed these documents are of great significance in an understanding of the difficulties which beset the organization and maintenance of Mexican national defense against the French invasion. An ineffective administrative system, a chronic failure of public revenues, want of arms and men, besetting sins of personal envy and enmity among leaders, lack of unity among the people of the distracted country—all these points appear in clearer relief in these confidential communications. The publication is a valuable supplement to the well-known formal report, also from the Mexican standpoint, which Ortega, general in command of the defenses of Puebla, made in September, 1863.

C. A. DUNIWAY.

*Annaes da Imprensa Periodica Pernambucana de 1821-1908.* Dados Historicos e Bibliographicos Collecionados por Alfredo de Carvalho. (Recife, Typografia do Jornal do Recife, 1908, pp. xii, 640). At the

instance of the governor of the state of Pernambuco, this volume has been printed as a contribution to the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the printing-press in Brazil in 1808. Senhor de Carvalho's work is a model of scholarly and typographical excellence, worthy to be compared with the very best historical bibliographies of periodicals. He lists and describes, with excellent historical annotations, no fewer than 1619 issues of the press of his state, chiefly, of course, printed in the capital. The legend of the existence of a printing-press at Recife in 1647, during the time of the Dutch occupation, has been dissipated. The first press in the province was set up in 1817. The first newspaper, the *Aurora Pernambucana*, a short-lived organ of Governor Luiz do Rego, appeared in 1821. Longer and more important is the history of the *Diario de Pernambuco*, which began to be issued in 1825 and is still in existence. It is the oldest newspaper in Latin America, the next oldest being the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio de Janeiro (1827), and *El Mercurio* of Valparaiso (1828). Senhor de Carvalho devotes almost thirty pages to the history of this paper and of its political connections. Even a cursory inspection of the volume gives the reader a not inconsiderable insight into the history of culture in Pernambuco and its region.

#### TEXT-BOOKS

*An Outline History of the Roman Empire (44 B. C. to 378 A. D.).* By William Stearns Davis, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. ix, 222.) This is the first text-book of Roman history for college students written in this country in recent times, but it is intended as an aid to instruction, not in Roman but in medieval history. The author is convinced "that to understand the Middle Ages it is necessary to know something of the progress and fall of that great Empire whence feudal Europe issued"—a conviction which, we suppose, everybody shares; but when he states that "no compact and practical sketch, suitable for the study of the average student, has come to hand", we cannot refrain from bringing his book into juxtaposition with the "briefest outline" on the same subject which Mr. H. Stuart Jones published a year earlier in the unhappy *Story of the Nations* series.

The two are alike in centring attention in the personalities and work of the successive rulers, but the English book—besides being in every respect a more substantial performance—describes with much greater fullness the character and growth of the civil and military system by means of which this work was achieved. His shortcoming in this respect Professor Davis condones by remarking that "the average student in a beginner's history class in college does not always understand institutions readily." The real question, however, seems to us to be whether the history of the Roman Empire is worth anything

to him without the institutions—even for the purposes of medieval study. Professor Davis's book makes about three hours' easy reading, while Mr. Jones uses about four times as much space for his irreducible minimum, and it cannot be read with profit in twelve hours. It gives one much more to think about; but, of course, it is written for adults. Mr. Jones did not have to deal with American college conditions, nor with the average student whose lack of capacity for any prolonged mental effort is seemingly taken for granted nowadays. We surmise that the latter will find Professor Davis's concise, graceful exposition, with its clever portraiture and absence of difficulties, more pleasant to read, but that the best students will derive more profit from Mr. Jones's dignified, thoughtful sketch. The English book is written with an ever-present consciousness of the existence and character of the original sources, the American with a good comprehension of the possibilities of the secondary literature. The illustrations in the former furnish a speaking set of documents for the history of Roman art; the maps in the latter are execrable.

"To tell the story of the Roman Empire in its fulness", says Mr. Jones, "is a task for which no man now living is qualified, and it is probable that the historian who is destined to achieve that task with success has yet to be born." We have better hopes of the present generation than has Mr. Jones; but it is a fact ugly and obvious that there is now in existence no large comprehensive treatment of the subject which is even remotely master of the specialized literature, and this is true no less of the Republic than of the Empire. Until such a work is produced the briefest outlines must all be unsatisfactory.

W. S. FERGUSON.

*A Constitutional History of England.* By A. M. Chambers. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. xix, 355.) In the brief compass of this little book Miss Chambers has undertaken to relate the history of the English constitution from the earliest time until the present day. She has omitted only the subject of modern local government, because she could not in so limited a space deal with it adequately, and also because many good books on this subject already exist. The omission is certainly excusable.

The author shows complete familiarity with all the modern writers on English constitutional history and a thorough comprehension of their views. She has selected for treatment the essential matters, and in each case applies a sound judgment and unusual analytical powers to the question under consideration. Add to this that her style, though necessarily a trifle dry, is simple and lucid, and that she has the gift of explaining abstract matters so that they are quickly understood, and it will be evident that her book is one of great merit. She might have spent a little more time in elucidating the process of a "fine of land" and the practice of "uses", but these are the only matters which seem not to be perfectly clear.



A book of this size devoted to so large a subject naturally partakes of the character of a series of summaries. The really remarkable thing is the ability with which the author has managed to make it a great deal more than a book of summaries. A second difficulty, due to the same cause as the first, lies in the inability of anyone to tell the exact truth because of the impossibility of telling the whole truth. Here again, Miss Chambers has succeeded beyond what could fairly be expected. Her expositions are not only clear but usually they are adequate and accurate.

In the first chapter we have an excellent discussion of the nature of the English constitution and also of the historians of the early constitutional period. The author is herself a disciple of the new Teutonic school, whose masters are Maitland and Vinogradoff. It may be that the impression one gets that this chapter and the two immediately succeeding ones are superior to the remainder is due to the method of treatment in the case of the later chapters. Here the topical method is used, the history of each institution being taken up separately for the entire period of its existence. This leads to some repetition. It seems to me that the method of dividing the history up into separate periods and treating fully of all the constitutional elements in one period before going on to the next is a better method.

There should be a selected bibliography appended to a book of this kind, especially as it seems to be intended for use as a text in schools.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

*A Child's Guide to American History.* By Henry William Elson. (New York, The Baker and Taylor Company, 1909, pp. 364.) In this volume the author has done much the same service (for elementary history) that he performed when he prepared his *Side-Lights on American History*. There is no effort to present the material as connected and organized history. The aim has been to discuss certain great events and characters, to relate incidents and adventures not found in the ordinary text-book.

The scope of the book which is evidently intended to add life to the history lessons in the higher grammar school grades may be seen from the following chapter headings: How Europe found America (II.); Exploring the New World (III.); the First Settlers (IV.); a Long Struggle for a Continent (VI.); the Panama Canal (XXII.). Not all of the chapter introductions are as intelligible, however, and one is a bit surprised to discover under Odds and Ends (XII.), brief sketches of Albert Gallatin, Dolly Madison, the Clay-Randolph duel, and S. F. B. Morse. The descriptions of Jennie Lind, Louis Kossuth, Lewis Cass, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Franklin Pierce, and Salmon P. Chase might also be more appropriately grouped than under the title, a Batch of Biographies (XV.).

While it is probable that no two persons would agree on the selections suitable for such a volume, there seems to be a lack of proper proportion in giving two pages to Ponce de Leon and scarcely honorable mention to Magellan; in giving seven pages to the story of Regina Hartman and only six pages to the remainder of the French and Indian War; and thirty pages to the Revolution with not a word on the march of George Rogers Clark and the contest for the control of the Middle West.

The stories are usually well told. Particularly worthy of commendation are those on the Settlement of the Ohio Valley (x.) and Means of Transportation (xii.). There are sixteen full-page colored illustrations and the make-up of the book is otherwise attractive. It will be a useful supplementary reader but its usability is greatly lessened through the omission of an index.

J. A. J.

## COMMUNICATION

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Sir:

IN an article in your journal, vol. XII., no. 2, entitled "The Literature of the South African War, 1899-1902, by a British Officer", I find the remark (p. 308), "The Boer is more skilful with the rifle than with the pen . . . With one exception [*Three Years' War*, by General De Wet] no Boer account of the Boer War has yet appeared." This is entirely untrue and must be explained by the little knowledge of Dutch literature and language the average Englishman has. A great deal of information about the war from the Boer side is given in the following books, mostly written in Dutch:

(1) *De Strijd tusschen Boer en Brit: De Herinnering van den Boeren-Generaal Chr. R. de Wet* (Amsterdam-Pretoria, Hüneker and Wormser, 1902). The book has been translated into English under the title *Three Years' War*. As De Wet writes in his preface that he is not responsible for any translation, I cannot tell how closely the original and the translation are identical. Though it is a book indispensable to the military historian, De Wet in his busy life was not able to give to it all the needful time and attention. Often the reader wants a fuller and more detailed account of facts, circumstances, and motives; the book lacks completeness in every direction.

(2) Dr. J. D. Kestell, *Met de Boeren Commando's* (Amsterdam-Pretoria, Hüneker and Wormser). This book, which has not been translated into English, so far as I know, is one of the best. The writer is a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Free State and a man of education and talent. He accompanied De Wet on his first *trek* to the Cape Colony; his heroic conduct as a field preacher was a great factor in keeping up the good spirit and courage of the Boers.

(3) Dr. J. D. Kestell and D. E. van Velden, *De Vredesonderhandelingen tusschen de Regeeringen der twee Zuid-Afrikaansche Republieken en de Vertegenwoordigers der Britsche Regeering* (Pretoria-Amsterdam, J. H. de Bussy). This contains valuable documents concerning the peace negotiations between the Boers and the British, and concerning the treaty of peace; a book indispensable for all who are interested in the history of the war, and entirely trustworthy.

There are a few more books by prominent Boer officers:

(4) C. C. J. Badenhorst, *En Assistent Hoofdcommandant der Westelijke Afdeeling van den Oranje Vrijstaat, Uit den Boeren-Oorlog, 1899-1902* (Amsterdam-Pretoria, Hüneker and Wormser, 1903). The author was the leading general of the western part of the Free State;

several facsimiles and documents are to be found in this book, which is quite trustworthy.

(5) B. J. Viljoen, Assistent Commandant Generaal, *Mijne Herinneringen uit den Anglo-Boeren Oorlog* (Amsterdam, W. Versluys). The author was a member of the Second Volksraad. When the war broke out he was soon made one of the Boer generals, was captured, and wrote his book while a prisoner of war at St. Helena (see also no. 13).

For the first part of the war:

(6) N. Hofmeyr, *Zes Maanden bij de Commando's* (The Hague, W. P. van Stockum en Zoon, 1903). The author was appointed official historian by the "Uitvoerende Raad Z.A.R." (Executive Council of the South African Republic). It covers only the first six months of the war.

Two books of "burgers" (citizens not officers on commando):

(7) D. S. van Warmelo, *Mijn Commando en Guerilla Commando Leven* (Amsterdam, W. Versluys, 1901). A narrative of his personal experiences in the war. The author is an educated and trustworthy man, son of a prominent minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. His book is worth reading.

(8) O. T. de Villiers (Kaapsch Rebel), *Met de Wet en Steyn in het Veld* (Amsterdam, Maatschappij Elsevier, 1903). The author, a Cape Colonial, joined the Boer forces very early in the war; afterwards he tried to promote an uprising in the Cape Colony, in which he failed, and only escaped capture by hiding in the mountains till the invading Boer commandos brought relief. His narrative is full of adventures, and is reliable.

(9) J. F. Naudé, *Vechten en Vluchten van Beyers en Kemp "bôkant" de Wet* (Rotterdam, Nijgh and van Ditmar). This book contains accounts of many fights and of the doings of the commandos operating in the west of the Transvaal, "bôkant" (*i. e.*, to the northward) of the field of operations of General de Wet. The author was one of the representatives at the peace negotiations at Vereeniging.

(10) (Dr. jur.) H. ver Loren van Themaat, *Twee Jaren in den Boerenoorlog* (Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink en Zoon, 1903). The author, a Hollander, entered the Transvaal in December, 1899, and left the region of the war in January, 1902, by crossing the Orange River to German Southwest Africa. The book was written from careful notes made during the whole war, but the account is confined to personal experiences. The writer accompanied De Wet in many of his famous *treks*, in "Theron's Verkenningcorps" (Theron's scouts).

(11) *Een Hollandsch Officier in Zuid Afrika: Nagelaten Papieren van Lieutenant Gerrit Boldingh* (Rotterdam, B. van de Watering, 1903). The author, a lieutenant of artillery in the Dutch army, was killed while invading the Cape Colony with Commandant Kritzinger. He was an intelligent, courageous, and faithful officer, and played a patriotic part when General Prinsloo surrendered in the "Witte Bergen" with 4000

Free Staters. The letters which he sent home, and his notes, are published in this book.

(12) Mevrouw (*i. e.*, Mrs.) de la Rey, *Mijne Omszwervingen en Beproevingen gedurende den Oorlog* (Amsterdam-Pretoria, Hüneker and Wormser). In this little book the wife of General de la Rey tells how she wandered with her children in an ox-wagon over the *veld*, always in danger of being captured by the English troops. The book is most attractive by its simplicity and firm patriotic spirit.

(13) Johanna Brandt-van Warmelo, *Het Concentratie Kamp van Irene* (Amsterdam, Jacques Dusseau and Company, 1905). A prominent Boer woman, the daughter of a famous Transvaal clergyman and wife of a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, tells in this little book, in a simple way, of the sufferings of the Boer women and children in the concentration-camp of Irene, where she was nursing the sick.

(14) Steyn, *de Wet, und der Orange Freistaat: Tagebuchblätter aus dem südafrikanischen Kriege* (Tübingen, Verlag der Laupp'schen Buchhandlung, 1902). The author is unknown; probably a German officer. He criticizes in an able way, and his account of the few months during which he "trekked" with De Wet is very illuminating.

(15) Adalbert Graf Sternberg, *Meine Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen im Boerenkriege* (Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1901). The author, a member of Parliament in Austria, went to the war to escape the tedium of peaceful surroundings, and looked upon warfare as a sort of sport. His behavior in the war is not very glorious. His book, though containing some interesting details, bears the marks of his lack of earnestness. He surrendered before Kronje was captured.

(16) Dr. W. van Everdingen, *De Oorlog in Zuid Afrika* (Delft, J. Waltman, jr., 1905). A history of the war in two volumes, made up out of Dutch and English documents.

(17) Andries de Wet and H. van Doornik, *Der Kampf in der Kapkolonie* (Munich, S. F. Lehmann). Parts of this book were written by Andries de Wet, a Cape Colonial, other parts by B. C. du Plessis, an Afriander from the Republics, others by H. van Doornik, a Hollander. The book bears the signs of having been prepared for a publisher, and lacks simplicity and sobriety, though containing much that is instructive for a right understanding of the Boer fighting in the Cape Colony.

H. VER LOREN VAN THEMAAT, Baflo, Holland.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### GENERAL

Henry Charles Lea, the dean of American medievalists, died in Philadelphia on October 24, aged eighty-four years. Born in Philadelphia in 1825, he was educated privately, never attending school or college. The grandson of Matthew Carey and the son of another eminent publisher, he was from 1843 to 1880 actively engaged in the business of publishing. During the Civil War he took a prominent part in the work of the Union League, and he was one of the founders of the Municipal Reform Association of Philadelphia, and for some years chairman of its executive committee. But though he was not neglectful of the duties of a good citizen, his life, outside his business, was passed in studious retirement, devoted to the careful composition of a long series of historical works, which not only gave him the highest position among American mediævalists, but won him a greater repute among European scholars than has been obtained by any other American historian of our time. It was perhaps because he had at the beginning been a votary of physical science and came from a family eminent in political economy, that when he entered the field of history he chose, not one of the subjects of narrative conventional among American historians in those days, but themes of the most substantial importance in the history of social institutions and of civilization. His first book, *Superstition and Force, Essays on the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal and Torture*, appeared in 1866. He was soon led to the study of the institutions of the medieval Church, and all his later books may be classed as attempts to complete our knowledge of the relations of those institutions to the development of civilization and of modern thought. His *Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy* appeared in 1867, his *Studies in Church History* in 1869, his *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, in three volumes, in 1888, *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain* in 1890, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, in three volumes, in 1896, *The Moriscoes of Spain* in 1901, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, in four volumes, in 1906-1907, and *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* in 1908. Several of these books have been translated into other languages, and all have been the theme of much discussion and usually of high praise in European historical journals. They are marked by extraordinary learning, by patience and industry and skill in the finding and criticism of original materials, by clearness and sobriety of style, solidity of judgment, breadth of view, and endeavor after impartiality. Much as the books have been used for purposes of controversy, most of the best students,

Catholic or Protestant, have recognized in the author the possession of the qualities named. As to the actual attainment of an impartial view, the opinions of those most competent to judge have varied more widely. To the Catholic, it could not well seem that the picture of medieval Christianity drawn in the first chapter of the *History of the Inquisition*, for instance, was a fair one, or that one who approached the Church primarily as a dispassionate student of its jurisprudence could so well depict its essential nature and influence as one who looked upon it with more sympathy, and with chief regard to its spiritual life. Whatever conclusions a serener age may reach in this particular, there can be no question of the bright illumination which Mr. Lea's researches have cast into many obscure yet important pathways of medieval history, nor of the lustre which his high qualities and great achievements have lent to American historical scholarship. To this journal he was from the first a constant friend, and a valued contributor. In 1902-1903 he was president of the American Historical Association. Personally he was a modest and retiring man, the generous friend of historical scholars. He imparted to them with freedom the privileges of the remarkable library which his wealth and learning had enabled him to collect, and at his death he bequeathed it to the University of Pennsylvania.

We have with sorrow to record the death of another eminent medievalist, Charles Gross, who died in the prime of life on December 3. Born in 1857 of Jewish parents in Troy, New York, he was graduated at Williams College in 1878, and won his doctoral degree at Göttingen in 1883, with a remarkable thesis on the *Gilda Mercatoria*, expanded in 1890 into his standard treatise on *The Gild Merchant*. Meantime he had published in 1887 a lesser book on *The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages*. In 1888 he became an instructor in Harvard University; he proved a most learned, judicious, and devoted teacher. He was promoted to a professorship in 1901. Greatly as he stimulated his students to production, and numerous as were the works in medieval English and municipal history that thus flowed indirectly from his mind, his own productivity, so far as continuous historical writing was concerned, was for a series of years greatly limited by the unusually devoted care which he bestowed upon an invalid wife, now deceased. Nevertheless, after publishing in 1897 a large *Bibliography of English Municipal History*, he carried through the Herculean task of preparing, single-handed and upon a much more laborious plan than those of Monod and Dahlmann-Waitz, his *Sources and Literature of English History to 1485*, published in 1900. Of this standard book he expected to bring out a revised edition in 1910. It is certainly the best of national historical bibliographies. Professor Gross also did extensive and valuable work for the Selden Society, and for the American Jewish Historical Society, of which he was a vice-president, while to this journal his services have been frequent and of high importance. His historical work and teaching were marked by solid learning, exemplary thoroughness of research,



sound judgment, and clear insight into the course of institutional development; his personal character by unselfishness, shy geniality, and extreme kindness.

Colonel Theodore A. Dodge, U. S. A. retired, died in Versailles on October 26 at the age of 67. A graduate of the University of London and educated in military matters in Berlin, he entered the Union army as a private in 1861 and served throughout the war with distinction, losing his right leg at Gettysburg, and was commissioned in 1866 in the regular army, in which he served until 1870. An authority on horsemanship and a distinguished military historian, he wrote a small general book on our Civil War and another on the campaign of Chancellorsville, but was chiefly known by a *History of the Art of War*, in biographical form, in which, in twelve volumes, he dealt with the military careers of the great leaders in that art—Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, Gustavus Adolphus, and Napoleon. In recent years he lived chiefly in Paris. His contributions to this journal were frequent and valued.

Dr. Joseph Parker Warren, instructor in the University of Chicago, died on December 4, at the age of thirty-five. A singularly clear-headed, practical, and devoted teacher, an energetic worker in university administration, a skilful reviewer of books, a warm and active friend, he found little time for research. If however his book on Shays's Rebellion is sufficiently near completion to be printed, it will be seen that he had the qualities of an excellent historical writer, who had taken pains to go beyond surface indications, had broken new ground, and could depict with insight the sources and operations of social discontent.

It is announced that Professor Frederick J. Turner of the University of Wisconsin will occupy a professorship of history at Harvard University after the present academic year.

Professor Herbert L. Osgood is spending the present academic year in London, occupied with researches in the history of the American colonies.

Dr. Henry A. Sill was last June promoted to the full rank of professor of ancient history in Cornell University.

Dr. Clarence W. Alvord has been promoted to the position of associate professor in the University of Illinois.

The annual meetings of the American Historical Association and the American Economic Association, including the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the former and the twenty-fourth of the latter, have taken place at New York City on December 27-31. The usual account of the meeting of the former society may be expected to appear in our April number. In addition to the matters of programme described in our last issue, attention may well be called to the conference of archivists, in which lessons to be learned from European practice in the administration of archives were to be discussed in a manner certain to profit the development of archive-work in the United

States; and to the sessions held in the new building of the New York Historical Society, in which the work of historical societies in Europe was described by five eminent European scholars, Professor George W. Prothero of London, Professor Eduard Meyer of Berlin, Professor Rafael Altamira of Oviedo, Dr. H. T. Colenbrander of the Hague, and Professor Camille Enlart of Paris, each speaking upon the work of the historical societies of his own country. For the afternoon of Friday, December 31, after the conclusion of the sessions, an interesting excursion by special train to West Point was arranged. The Historical Manuscripts Commission was to present to the Association for inclusion in its next Annual Report a body of some two hundred letters addressed to Alexander H. Stephens in the decade preceding the Civil War. The Public Archives Commission expected to present a preliminary report on the archives of California, by President Duniway and Professor Bowman, a report on the archives of Illinois, by Professor Alvord, and one on the archives of New Mexico, by Professor J. H. Vaughan.

The sixth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association took place at Stanford University on November 19 and 20. The address of the president, Mr. G. H. Himes of Portland, Oregon, was on the Historical Unity of the American States West of the Rocky Mountains. In the "teachers' session" there was a discussion of Ancient History in the First Year of the High School. In the more general sessions four papers of general history and five papers of Pacific Coast history were read. The former were: one by Dr. S. L. Ware, on the Elizabethan Parish; one by Professor E. I. McCormac, on Colonial Opposition to Imperial Authority during the French and Indian War; one by Professor Edward B. Krehbiel, on the Mennonite Immigration of 1874; and one by Mr. R. F. Scholz, on Roman Imperialism. Those on the history of the Pacific Coast were by Dr. P. J. Treat, on Governor Arthur Phillip of New South Wales; by Mr. D. E. Smith, on the Intendant System in New Spain; by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, on the Discovery of the Lost History of Father Kino; by Professor Edmond S. Meany, on the thesis that the towns of the Pacific Northwest were not founded on the fur-trade, and Mr. Frederick J. Teggart, on the Early Missouri Fur-Trade.

Fuller information respecting the International Congress of Archivists and Librarians, which is to be held at Brussels in August, 1910, shows that the proceedings will take place in four sections: one devoted to archives, one to libraries, one to the collections of seals, coins, etc., commonly annexed to archive or library establishments, and one to popular libraries. The various questions proposed for examination in each section are eminently practical ones, having to do, in the case of the archive section, with matters of building, *matériel*, classification, publication, and personnel. The subscription to the Congress is ten francs.

The secretaries of the central committee of organization are MM. J. Cuvelier of the General Archives of Belgium and L. Stainier of the Royal Library.

The thirtieth annual publication of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, edited by Dr. Georg Schuster, consists of two volumes (Berlin, Weidmann, 1909, pp. 410, 574; 468, 322). The part relating to Germany and the German states is especially full, the only large exception being that the chapters for general German history of the period from 1273 to 1740 are postponed. Of the other countries of Europe, those represented in this issue are Italy (except the southern portion), Belgium, medieval France, Scandinavia, Hungary, and the south Slavonic regions. Oriental history and church history are also well covered, and there are chapters on Canada and on general history.

The bibliography of history for schools, published last year in the *Atlantic Educational Quarterly* and already noticed in this REVIEW, will before long be issued by Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company in enlarged and revised form. No work of exactly this character has been prepared before and the committee in charge hope to meet a need that is known to exist among teachers, especially in secondary schools. The lists, which cover all aspects of history and history teaching, have been selected very carefully and have been annotated justly and impartially.

The Oxford University Press has published an excellent work on *Historical Evidence*, by the Rev. H. B. George (1909, pp. 223).

Mr. Philip Lee Phillips, chief of the division of maps and charts in the Library of Congress, has compiled a remarkable annotated *List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1909, pp. xiii, 1659). In the first volume, of over 1200 pages, the atlases are described and analyzed with unusual wealth of bibliographical detail. Atlases of special subjects, colonial, commercial, ecclesiastical, historical, etc., are included. Maps relating to America, plans of cities throughout the world, and material of specific interest not usually found in atlases, are brought to the special attention of the student. In the second volume an author-list of abridged titles, with dates of birth and death, precedes the index, which contains over 40,000 references. Under "Publishers" is "an alphabetical list of all the atlas publishers referred to in the body of the work". In the case of the atlases of Ptolemy, Ortelius, Mercator, and some others, not only the editions in the Library of Congress but all other known editions are noted. Of much value to the historian are the full analyses of such collections of reproductions of old maps as the works of Santarem, Jomard, Fischer, and others, and of the atlases accompanying boundary disputes.

Dr. Salomon Reinach's *Orpheus: a General History of Religions*, has been published by Heinemann (London, 1909, pp. 454), in a translation by Florence Simmonds.

Professor Augustin Álvarez, the vice-president of the Argentine National University of La Plata, has just published through Juan Roland, Calle Florida 418, Buenos Aires, his *Historia de las Instituciones Libres* in an attractively printed octavo of some three hundred pages. Dr. Álvarez follows the course of the development of freedom from Plato and Tacitus through Magna Charta and the writ of Habeas Corpus to the development of political and religious liberty in America.

The first fascicle of the *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, published under the direction of Mgr. A. Baudrillart, A. Vogt, and U. Rouziès (Paris, Letouzey and Ané, 1909, 320 columns), contains articles under the headings Aachs-Achot. The projected publication of this valuable work of reference has already been noticed in these pages (XIII. 203).

*Die Münze in der Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin, Weidmann) by Ferdinand Friedensburg "shows the importance of coins as expressions of culture and civilization, business and commerce, religion and thought".

*Die Anwendung der Photographie für die Archivalische Praxis* is the subject of a monograph by Otto Mente and Adam Warschauer (Leipzig, Hirzel).

In a small volume of *Essays, Literary, Critical and Historical*, by Dr. Thomas O'Hagan (Toronto, William Briggs, pp. 112), the historical matter consists of an essay on "The Italian Renaissance and the Popes of Avignon" and of a paper entitled "Poetry and History Teaching Falsehood", both mainly intended to secure a more just view of the Catholic Church.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: William MacDonald, *Suggestions for an Historical Laboratory* (The Nation, October 7); G. Wolf, *Archiv-literatur* (Deutsche Geschichtsblätter, August, September); F. Ohmann, *Postgeschichte* (*ibid.*, July); G. Monod and A. Loisy, *L'Orpheus de M. S. Reinach* (Revue Historique, November-December); M. G. Schybergson, *Heinrich Gabriel Porthan, ein Vertreter der Vergleichenden Geschichtsforschung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, September).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

The *Athenaeum* of October 30 (p. 533) publishes part of a letter from Dr. Percy Gardner and Dr. G. A. Macmillan, representing the Council of the Hellenic Society. They propose the formation of a Society for the Promotion of Latin or Roman Studies, with which the Hellenic Society would wish constantly to collaborate. The scope of the new society would be "ancient Roman civilization in all lands of the Roman Empire, together with its survivals in Italy and Western Europe down to the end of the Middle Ages". An annual subscription fee of one guinea is suggested, in return for which members would receive a Journal of Roman or Latin Studies, and facilities for borrowing books and lantern-slides. Persons in sympathy with the project are

asked to communicate with Mr. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre, the Secretary of the Hellenic Society, at 22 Albemarle Street, London, W.

M. F. Thureau-Dangin is issuing through the house of Geuthner, Paris, a volume of *Lettres et Contrats de l'Époque de la Première Dynastie Babylonienne*, containing about 250 unpublished texts from the Louvre, reproduced in facsimile with an index of proper names. Besides the Babylonian documents, there are some Cappadocian texts and two from Khana.

A work which will be of much value not only to the beginner but to the expert Egyptologist is G. Moeller's *Hieratische Paläographie, die Aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der Vten Dynastie bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1909, pp. viii, 20, 76, nine plates). The first volume extends to the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty.

An important though brief paper by G. Steindorff, *Die Aegyptischen Gae und ihre Politische Entwicklung*, read at the Historical Congress in Berlin in 1908 and published in a somewhat extended form in the *Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der K. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, no. XXV., is issued separately through Teubner (Leipzig, 1909, pp. 38).

By means of a complete critical examination of all Egyptian objects found in Cretan tombs and of all Cretan objects found in Egyptian tombs, Diedrich Fimmen has endeavored to determine the *Zeit und Dauer der Kretisch-Mykenischen Kultur* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1909, pp. vi, 164).

*Études sur l'Ancienne Alexandrie*, by Alexandre-Max de Zogheb (Paris, Leroux), contains several studies in chronology relating to the Lagidae, the Roman prefects of Egypt, the Mussulman dynasties, and the patriarchs of Alexandria; studies on the tombs of Alexander the Great, of the Ptolemies, and of Cleopatra, and on ancient Alexandria, its church, and councils.

Mr. L. R. Farnell's *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford University Press) is completed by the issue of a fifth volume (1909, pp. 495), which includes an index to the whole work.

In the *Revue Historique* of November–December, M. J. Toutain reviews French books published in 1907 and 1908, relating to Roman antiquities.

*Das Alte Rom: Sein Werden, Blühen und Vergehen*, by Professor E. Diehl, of Jena (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1909, pp. 126), is issued in the collection, *Wissenschaft und Bildung*, an excellent series of small books in which scholars of reputation present in summary but readable form the results of the latest researches.

Mr. G. F. Hill, author of *Historical Greek Coins*, has brought out a book on *Historical Roman Coins* (London, Constable), which extends from the earliest times to the reign of Augustus.

From the Cambridge University Press comes a three-volume history of *The Roman Republic*, by W. E. Heitland, fellow of St. John's College. Literary, military, and economic history are touched upon as bearing upon public life, but the main object has been a political study.

Mr. A. L. Hodges of the Wadleigh High School, New York, has contributed to Macmillan's Latin Series a school edition of *Caesar: The Gallic War*, which is equipped with an attractive apparatus of introductory matter, notes, illustrations, and maps, and aims "to furnish material which may lead the student to appreciate the narrative as a piece of historical literature". Also from the Macmillan Company comes a translation of Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War* by the distinguished scholar, Dr. T. Rice Holmes. The foot-notes to the text summarize the editor's researches.

Alfred von Domaszewski, professor in the University of Heidelberg, has published a *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiser* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1909, pp. viii, 324; iv, 328), in two handsome volumes. Through the meditations of long years, the emperors have become to the author as living realities, and he has tried to make them such to his readers. There are no foot-notes or other references to authorities.

The remarkable discoveries made in 1908 and 1909 in connection with the excavation of the sanctuary of the Oriental gods on the Janiculum have been the subject of several memoirs, and are popularly described in an article by R. Lanciani in the *Athenaeum* of March 13. In an interesting and fully illustrated monograph, *Le Sanctuaire des Dieux Orientaux au Janicule* (Rome, Cuggiani, 1909, pp. 90), the excavators, MM. G. Nicole and G. Darier, give a detailed account of the progress of the excavations and offer some new interpretations of the finds.

In a brochure entitled *Later Roman Education in Ausonius, Capella, and the Theodosian Code*, published by Teachers College, Columbia University, as no. 27 in the series of *Contributions to Education* (1909, pp. 39), Dr. P. R. Cole has made accessible in English for the first time some of the more typical and important passages in the sources mentioned, relating to education, and has added brief explanatory and biographical notices.

Otto Seeck has issued the third volume of his valuable *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt* (Berlin, Siemenroth, 1909, pp. vii, 444, appendix, 447-583).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. Costanzi, *Osservazioni sull'Etnografia della Sicilia nell'Antichità* (*Rivista di Storia Antica*, N. S., XII. 4); P. Guiraud, *L'Ager Publicus à Rome* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October); F. Reuss, *Der Erste Punische Krieg* (*Philologus*, LXVIII. 3); T. Montanari, *Appunti Annibalicì* (*Rivista di Storia Antica*, N. S., XII. 4); F. F. Abbott, *Women and Public Affairs under the Roman Republic* (Scribner, September); C. Tropea, *Pompeo e*

*Posidonio a Rodi* (Rivista di Storia Antica, N. S., XII. 4); H. H. Howorth, *The Germans of Caesar* (English Historical Review, October); G. Costa, *Questioni Pliniane* (Rivista di Storia Antica, N. S., XII. 4); M. Trevissoi, *Diogene Laerzio* (*ibid.*, XII. 4).

#### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The tenth volume in the series of *Textes et Documents pour l'Étude Historique du Christianisme*, published under the direction of H. Hemmer and P. Lejay (Paris, Picard), is *Les Pères Apostoliques: II. Clément de Rome, Épître aux Corinthiens, Homélie du II<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (1909, pp. lxxiv, 201). The Greek text and French translation are edited by H. Hemmer, who also contributes the introduction.

Professor Gwatkin, of the University of Cambridge, has published two volumes on *Early Church History to A. D. 313* (Macmillan, 1909, pp. 322, 382).

A history of *Saint Sidoine Apollinaire (431-489)*, by Paul Allard (Paris, Lecoffre), has been brought out in the series *Les Saints*, published under the direction of M. Joly, of the Institute.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. J. Schaefer, *The Acts of the Martyrs* (The Catholic University Bulletin, October); P. D. Scott-Moncrieff, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity in Egypt* (Church Quarterly Review, October); E. Schwartz, *Die Konzilien des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIV. 1).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The second volume of R. W. and A. J. Carlyle's *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West* (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1909, pp. 294) deals with the political theory of the Roman lawyers and the canonists from the tenth to the thirteenth century.

Of prime importance for the history of cartography and nautics in the Middle Ages is Konrad Kretschmer's *Die Italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Berlin, Mittler, 1909, pp. 688), which forms the thirteenth fascicle in the publications of the Institut für Meereskunde and the Geographisches Institut of the University of Berlin. This large volume includes an introductory account (pp. 232) of the seafaring peoples of south Europe up to the close of the Middle Ages; of the medieval sea-charts; and of the Italian portolans. The text of seven portolans (pp. 235-552) is followed by a "commentary", which serves as an index to the text and follows a geographical arrangement.

In the series of *Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte* (Heidelberg, E. Winter), edited by Karl Hampe and Hermann Oncken, F. Graefe has brought out a work on *Die Publizistik in der letzten Epoche Kaiser Friedrichs II.* (1909, pp. vii, 275), a contribution to the history of the years 1239-1250.



Dr. Ernst Hennig has contributed to the financial history of the later Middle Ages a monograph on *Die Päpstlichen Zehnten aus Deutschland im Zeitalter des Avignonesischen Papsttums und während des Grossen Schismas* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1909, pp. xii, 91).

M. Noël Valois of the Institute whose *Histoire de la Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges sous Charles VII.* has been reviewed in this journal (XII. 619-621) has brought out a two-volume work, *La Crise Religieuse du XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Le Pape et le Concile*, covering the period from 1418 through 1450.

Documentary publications: A. Fayen, *Lettres de Jean XXII.* (1316-1334), II. [Analecta Vaticano-Belgica, III. 1, published by the Belgian Historical Institute of Rome] (Paris, Champion, pp. 448); E. Déprez, *Innocent VI.* (1352-1362) [Letters close, patent, and curial relating to France, published or analyzed from the registers of the Vatican] [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, third series, fascicle 1] (Paris, Fontemoing).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. R. Beazley, *Marco Polo and the European Expansion of the Middle Ages* (Atlantic Monthly, October); E. von Moeller, *Der Heilige Ivo als Schutzpatron der Juristen und die Ivo-Brüderschaften* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, September).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

M. René Basset has brought out in the publications of the École des Lettres d'Alger the Arabic text, with French translation and notes, of a *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Abyssinie (XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle)*, by Chihab Eddin Ahmed Ben Abd el Qâder, surnamed Arab-Faqih (Paris, Leroux, 1909, pp. xiv, 72).

The fifth volume of Ludwig von Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1909, pp. xlv, 891) deals with the reign of Paul III. (1534-1549).

Mr. Thomas Willing Balch has brought out a new edition of *Le Nouveau Cynée* (Philadelphia, Allen, 1909, pp. xxxi, 363), a book in which the author, Émeric Crucé, proposed the establishment of an assembly of ambassadors of all nations to maintain international peace, and discussed religion, Gresham's law, the need of a uniform world-system of weights and measures, international commerce, and other matters. The French text is reprinted from the original edition of 1623, and an English translation and an introduction are supplied by the editor.

The sixth volume of the *Cambridge Modern History* treats of *The Eighteenth Century* (Macmillan).

Recent publications in Alcan's excellent Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine are *Histoire Politique et Sociale, 1815-1909: Évolution du Monde Moderne*, by E. Driault and G. Monod; *Napoléon et l'Europe*:

*La Politique Extérieure du Premier Consul, 1800-1803*, by E. Driault; and *L'Europe et la Politique Britannique, 1882-1909*, by E. Lemonon, with a preface by P. Deschanel of the French Academy.

*Recent Christian Progress* is a series of articles upon Christian thought and work during the last three-quarters of a century by professors and alumni of Hartford Theological Seminary, in celebration of its seventy-fifth anniversary (May 24-26, 1909). The work is edited by Lewis B. Paton and is published by the Macmillan Company.

The first nineteen volumes of the *History of All Nations*, published by Messrs. Lea Brothers, and of which the earlier volumes were reviewed in volume XI. of this journal, were based on a translation of Flathé's *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*. For the twentieth volume, however, dealing with the period from 1871 to 1901, a separate narrative was written by Professor Charles M. Andrews. In a later edition this narrative has been brought down to 1905, by Professor W. E. Lingelbach. The volumes of the *History* can now be obtained separately.

Professor L. Oppenheim of the University of Cambridge has prepared a small volume entitled *International Incidents for Discussion in Conversation Classes* (pp. 129), which is published in Cambridge at the University Press and in New York by Messrs. Putnam. The author emphasizes the character of the book as a collection of incidents suitable for discussion rather than a collection of cases. As the incidents are unaccompanied by any explanatory matter, the book is comparable to a collection of original problems in mathematics.

*The Hague Peace Conferences and other International Conferences concerning the Laws and Usages of War*, by Dr. A. Pearce Higgins (Cambridge University Press, 1909, pp. 646), is chiefly devoted to the Hague conferences. The other conferences included range from the Declaration of Paris to the London Naval Conference of 1909. The text of each of the conventions is given, and to each the author has appended a commentary in which he gives an account of its origin and its relation to the general rules of law on the subject with which it deals.

Documentary publications: L. Graf Voinovich, *Depeschen des Francesco Gondola, Gesandten der Republik Ragusa bei Pius V. und Gregor XIII. (1570-1573)* (Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte, XCVIII. 1); Lieut.-Col. Sir R. Carnac Temple, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, I. *Travels in Europe, 1608-1628* (Hakluyt Society); G. Bourgin, *La France et Rome de 1788 à 1797* [Calendar of the despatches of the Cardinal Secretary of State, from the Vatican archives] [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, series I., fascicle 102] (Paris, Fontemoing).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Celier, *L'Idée de Réforme à la Cour Pontificale, du Concile de Bâle au Concile de Latran* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); P. Masson, *Un Type de Règle-*

*mentation Commerciale au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Le Commerce Français du Levant* (Vierteljahrsschrift für Social und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, VII. 2); L. Raschdau, *Die Botschafterkonferenz in Konstantinopel und der Russische-türkische Krieg (1877-1878)* (Deutsche Rundschau, November); K. Stählin, *Der Diplomatische Kampf in der jüngsten Balkankrise* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIV. 1).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

In the *Revue Historique* of September-October, M. Ch. Bémont concludes his review of recent books on English history (colonial history, institutions, economic history, law).

*The Dictionary of English History*, the well-known work of reference by Sidney J. Low and F. S. Pulling, is being brought out in a new and revised edition, with illustrations. The first part has been published.

Professor Vinogradoff is to publish through the Clarendon Press, a series of *Studies in Social and Legal History*, in which will be collected monographs by his pupils or by researchers who have consulted him. As a rule, a volume of some 300-400 pages will be issued yearly, comprising one or two monographs on the social or legal history of England or of other countries. The first volume contains an essay on English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution, by Professor Alexander Savine, and a study of Patronage in the Later Empire, by F. de Zulueta, fellow and lecturer of New College, Oxford.

Mr. Hubert Hall's *Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents* (Cambridge University Press), the first part of which was recently reviewed in this journal (XIV. 560), is concluded in a second part dealing with ministerial and judicial records.

A photographic reproduction of *Queen Matilda's Tapestry (Bayeux)*: *The Conquest of England*, and a translation of the text embroidered in the tapestry, with historical notes, has been published by Low, Mars-ton (London, 1909. In case).

Students of early English history will be interested in a volume of *Domesday Tables* (The St. Catherine Press, 1909, pp. 239), being the statistics of Surrey, Berks, Middlesex, Herts, Bucks, and Bedford, arranged in tabular form, by the Hon. Francis H. Baring, who in brief introductions to the tables for each county summarizes the leading features of the Survey.

The *Policraticus* or "the statesman's book", of John of Salisbury, has been edited with great care and learning by Mr. C. C. I. Webb, and published by the Clarendon Press.

Miss R. M. Clay has contributed to the series, the *Antiquary's Books*, an account of *The Medieval Hospitals of England* (London, Methuen, 1909, pp. xxii, 357).

At the suggestion of and with much help from Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, Miss F. M. Davies, a former student at the London School of Economics, has written a detailed economic and historical study of the parish of Corsley in Wiltshire, under the title, *Life in an English Village* (London, Unwin, pp. xiii, 319).

In *The Buried City of Kenfig*, by Thomas Gray (New York, Appleton, 1909, pp. 348), the author prints in translation or otherwise a number of medieval charters, town ordinances, and other documents.

In preparing a new edition of his *England in the Age of Wycliffe* (Longmans, 1909, pp. xvi, 380), the author, Mr. G. M. Trevelyan, states that he has not done "more than remove one or two positive errors of fact".

*Prose and Poetry, Sir Thomas North to Michael Drayton*, the fourth volume of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (Cambridge University Press), contains much matter of interest to the historian. It includes chapters on Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mrs. Creighton; The Literature of the Sea, from the Origins to Hakluyt, and Seafaring and Travel, The Growth of Professional Text Books and Geographical Literature, by Commander Charles N. Robinson, R. N. and John Leyland; The English Pulpit from Fisher to Donne, by Rev. F. E. Hutchinson; Early Writings on Politics and Economics, by Ven. Archdeacon Cunningham; and The Foundation of Libraries, by J. Bass Mullinger.

The Cambridge University Press is bringing out *The Journal of George Fox*, reprinted verbatim for the first time from the original manuscript.

The ninth part of the British Museum publication, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, includes plates LXXXI.-XC., with brief descriptive letterpress dealing with the period of William and Mary from July, 1690, to May, 1692.

In writing his two-volume history, *The First George in Hanover and England* (Scribner, pp. xii, 257; vi, 252), Mr. Lewis Melville has had access to fresh sources of information. A great part of the work is devoted to a detailed account of George's life in Hanover. The author says "It is with George Lewis the man rather than George I. the King, that this work is mainly concerned."

Under the title *George I. and the Northern War; a Study of British-Hanoverian Policy in the North of Europe in the Years 1709 to 1721* (London, Smith, Elder, 1909, pp. 534), Mr. James F. Chance brings together several articles contributed by him to the *English Historical Review*, and since recast, and some additional chapters on the events of the years 1720 and 1721.

A number of diaries and other manuscripts of John Wesley, the existence of which had been known but vaguely, have been discovered

and brought together in England. The diaries are written in a curious kind of shorthand, to which no key was possessed, and have been deciphered and translated only after some years of persistent effort on the part of the Rev. Nehemiah Curnock, aided by experts. It is said that these documents throw so much additional light upon Wesley's character and activities that his life will need to be rewritten. Meanwhile a six-volume edition of *The Journal of John Wesley* is to be issued by the Methodist Publishing House, London.

The Clarendon Press has accepted for publication a volume by Mr. Thad W. Riker, instructor in modern European history at Cornell University, entitled, *Henry Fox, First Lord Holland: a Study of the Career of an Eighteenth-Century Politician*.

*The Last Journals of Horace Walpole, during the Reign of George III. from 1771 to 1783*, two volumes, with notes by Dr. Doran, edited with an introduction by A. Francis Stuart, have been published by Mr. John Lane, London.

The fifth and sixth volumes of Mr. J. W. Fortescue's *History of the British Army* are being published by Macmillan.

*A Catalogue of the Publications of Scottish Historical and Kindred Clubs and Societies*, by Professor C. S. Terry (Glasgow, Maclehose, 1909, pp. xii, 253), includes the Scottish publications of His Majesty's Stationery Office, a subject-index to the materials revealed by the catalogue as bearing especially on Scottish history, and explanatory notes on the contents of many volumes. The period covered extends from 1780 through 1908.

The Rev. Frederick Smith's book on *The Stone Ages in North Britain and Ireland* is published by Blackie and Sons.

*A History of Scottish Education*, by Dr. John Kerr, for many years senior inspector of schools for Scotland, is being published by the Cambridge University Press. The book contains a number of appendixes by experts.

Mr. John Strong, rector of the Montrose Academy, has published through the Oxford University Press *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland* (1909, pp. 288), which extends from early times to the Education Act of 1908.

Mr. James Coutts, formerly registrar of the University of Glasgow, and author of a small history of the University, has published the first volume of an extended work, *The University of Glasgow: its History from the Foundation of the University in 1451 to 1909* (Glasgow, Maclehose, pp. 628).

Miss Marion Phillips's University of London thesis, *A Colonial Autocracy: New South Wales under Governor Macquarie, 1810-1821* (London, P. S. King, 1909, pp. xx, 336), is a valuable study of the constitutional, political, administrative, social, and economic aspects of

the history of the colony during an important period in its early development. The last chapter describes the relation of the colony and the Imperial Parliament.

Sir Godfrey Lagden's two volumes on *The Basutos: the Mountaineers and their Country* (London, Hutchinson) is a narrative of events relating to the tribe from its formation early in the nineteenth century to the present day.

British government publications: *Calendar of Treasury Books*, IV., 1672-1675; *Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission*, Index to volumes I. and II. of the Report of Sir John Gilbert on the MSS. of the Marquis of Ormonde at Kilkenny Castle.

Other documentary publications: R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Letter-Books preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guild Hall, Letter-Book I, c. 1400-1422* (London, Francis, 1909, pp. 348); *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, 1485-1714*, calendared and described by Robert Steele, under the direction of the Earl of Crawford: vol. I., England, vol. II., Scotland and Ireland (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909); *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, selected from hitherto inedited manuscripts by W. F. Leith, S. J. (Longmans, two volumes).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. M. Powicke, *King John and Arthur of Brittany* (English Historical Review, October); R. G. Marsden, *Early Prize Jurisdiction and Prize Law in England* (*ibid.*); Ellen A. McArthur, *Women Petitioners and the Long Parliament* (*ibid.*); G. B. Hertz, *The English Silk Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (*ibid.*).

#### FRANCE

The *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* has returned to bi-monthly issues. A general index for the first ten years, 1899-1909, will soon be published.

In the section entitled "Les Régions de la France" in the August number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, M. Henri Prentout contributes the first part of a monograph on Normandy, consisting of a geographical sketch of the region and an account of its historians. The same number of this journal contains a review of recent writings on folk-lore in France.

M. Eugène Duprat, who has published other writings preliminary to an elaborate history of Avignon in ancient times and in the early Middle Ages, has recently brought out a critical study of *Les Origines de l'Église d'Avignon: Des Origines à 879* (Paris, G. Ficker, 1909, pp. 148).

A new collection, *Bibliothèque d'Histoire de Paris*, to be published under the auspices of the city of Paris and to contain monographs on special points in the history of the city, has an excellent beginning in

a study in topographical history, *Paris sous les Premiers Capétiens, 987-1223*, by M. Louis Halphen, secretary of the École des Chartes. The volume is accompanied by an album of drawings and maps.

A translation by Winifred Stephens of M. Anatole France's *Life of Joan of Arc* has been published by John Lane in two volumes (1909, pp. 558, 476).

M. Henri Hauser's *Études sur la Réforme Française* treats of Humanism and the Reformation in France; a new text on Aimé Maigret; the Reformation and the popular classes in France in the sixteenth century; a critical study on the "Rebeine" of Lyon; the consulates and the Reformation; the Reformation in Auvergne; "Petits livres" of the sixteenth century; and an important source of the martyrology of Crespin. This book is being published by Picard, Paris, as the third volume in their Bibliothèque d'Histoire Religieuse. The recently published second volume of this series is the second volume of P. Pisani's *L'Église et la Révolution* (1909, pp. 424), which extends from 1792 to 1796.

*Les Prétentions de Charles III., Duc de Lorraine, à la Couronne de France*, by L. Davillé (Paris, Alcan, 1909, pp. xvi, 320), a University of Paris thesis of great merit, depicts the relations of the Duke of Lorraine with France during the period of the religious wars.

The eighth *tome* of M. E. Lavisse's *Histoire de France* (Paris, Hachette) is completed by the issue of the second part, a volume on *Le Règne de Louis XV. (1715-1774)*, by M. H. Carré. Only the ninth *tome* of this great history remains to be issued. This will contain the reign of Louis XVI., in one volume, and an analytical index, in one volume.

M. Jean Lorédan has written from unpublished sources a work entitled *La Grande Misère et les Voleurs au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Marion du Faouët, Chef de Brigands, et ses Associés (1740-1770)* (Paris, Perrin, pp. xvi, 402).

The fourth fascicle of M. Pierre Caron's *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de la France depuis 1789* (Paris, Cornély) contains the end of military history, religious history, and the larger part of economic and social history. The fifth fascicle, which is in press, contains the end of economic and social history, colonial history, local history, and the beginning of the indexes.

Prince Kropotkin's history of *The Great French Revolution, 1789-1793*, which emphasizes the part played by the uneducated classes, is published by Putnam's, London and New York (1909, pp. 622), in a translation by N. F. Dryhurst.

Among Macmillan's announcements is *Lectures on the French Revolution* by the late Lord Acton, edited with an introduction by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence.



M. P. Sagnac, co-editor of the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, has published a work on *La Révolution du 10 Août 1792: La Chute de la Royauté* (Paris, Hachette, 1909, pp. iv, 338).

Clery's *Memoirs of the Royal Family in the Temple Prison*, in a translation by E. Jules Méras, has been published in the *Court Series of French Memoirs* (New York, Sturgis and Walton, pp. 200).

M. Noël Beurieux, attaché in the ministry of agriculture, has written an historical and statistical account of *Le Prix du Blé en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, Larose).

Commandant H. M. Weil's history of *Joachim Murat, Roi de Naples: La Dernière Année de Règne* (Mai 1814-Mai 1815) contains important new conclusions based on discoveries made by the author in the imperial archives of Vienna. The fourth volume has recently appeared, and the fifth and last volume is in press.

Documentary publications: Comte de Beauchamp, *Comptes de Louis XVI*. [from the autograph manuscript of the king preserved in the Archives Nationales] (Paris, Leclerc, pp. 375); E. Daudet, *Nouvelles Lettres du C<sup>te</sup> Valentin Esterhazy à sa Femme, 1792-1795* (Paris, Plon, 1909, pp. ii, 343); Prince Murat, *Lettres et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de Joachim Murat, 1767-1815*, III. *Gouvernement de Paris (1804-1805)* [introduction and notes by Paul le Brethon] (Paris, Plon, 1909, pp. 495); Duchesse de Dino, *Chronique de 1831 à 1862*, III., 1841-1850 [published with annotations and a biographical index by the Princess Radziwill, née Castellane; an English translation of the first volume has appeared in London] (Paris, Plon, 1909, pp. 530); Prince F. de Broglie, *Discours du Duc de Broglie: Discours Politiques, 1876-1891* (Paris, Lecoffre).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: É. Schuré, *Jeanne d'Arc et l'Inspiration dans l'Histoire*, I. (*Revue Bleue*, November 13); A. Renaudet, *Les Origines de la Réforme Française d'après un Ouvrage Récent* [Imbart de la Tour] (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, June-July); G. Monod, *La Place de la Société de Jésus dans l'Histoire de la Réforme* (*Revue Bleue*, October 9); L. Cahen, *La Question de l'État Civil à Paris au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (*La Révolution Française*, September); H. Froidevaux, *Les Préludes de l'Intervention Française à Madagascar au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Navigateurs, Géographes, et Commerçants Français de 1504 à 1640* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October); Louis Batiffol, *Louis XIII. et le Duc de Luynes*, I. (*Revue Historique*, November-December); M. Rouff, *Le Personnel des Premières Émeutes de 1789* (*La Révolution Française*, September); J. Carcopino, *L'Enseignement de l'Histoire dans les Écoles Centrales de la Révolution* (*Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement*, September); E. Tarlé, *La Classe Ouvrière et le Parti Contre-Révolutionnaire sous la Constituante* (*La Révolution Française*, October); C. Richard, *L'Application de la Constitution Civile du Clergé dans le Département du Nord (Juin 1791-Septem-*

bre 1792) (*Revue d' Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, June-July); Ch. Benoist, *La Crise de l'État Moderne: La Corporation et l'Ancien Régime; Formation de la Classe Ouvrière* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, November); M. Marion, *Les Partages de Présuccession* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October).

#### ITALY AND SPAIN

Signor Guido Biagi has brought together under the title *Men and Manners of Old Florence* (London, Fisher Unwin, 1909, pp. 322) five sketches of the Florentines from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century.

Mr. W. H. Woodward, lately of the University of Liverpool, is writing a life of Caesar Borgia based on documents in the Vatican archives, and in less known archives and libraries of the Romagna, and on published material.

The first volume of the *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, by Father Pietro Tacchi Venturi (Rome, Milan, Albrighi, Segati, 1910, pp. xi, 720), which is based on manuscript and printed material in many libraries and archives in addition to the archives of the Society of Jesus, gives a comprehensive picture of the religious life of Italy in the sixteenth century. Many texts are printed in an appendix.

The first part of M. G. Bourgin's review of recent books on the contemporary history of Italy is published in the *Revue Historique* of November-December.

Among the anniversaries of last year, that of the Italian war of 1859 has stimulated an interest in historical events. Accounts of the diplomacy which led to the French alliance, and of the campaign, are given in *Il 1859, da Plombières a Villafranca* (Milan, Treves), by Signor Alfredo Panzini. It is announced that the Italian War Department is to publish in full the official report of the war, and that an aide-de-camp's diary, hitherto printed anonymously and incompletely, by Chiala, is to be issued in an uncensored form. A work of the highest interest, referring to the events of the following year, is *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (Longmans); by G. M. Trevelyan.

The ninth fascicle in the *Bibliothèque des Universités du Midi* is G. Cirot's *Études sur l'Historiographie Espagnole*, a book on the general histories of Spain between Alfonso X. and Philip II. (1284-1556).

The Cambridge University Press has published *Saint Theresa: the History of her Foundations*, a sequel to her *Life*, translated by Sister Agnes Mason from the 1881 edition. Sir E. M. Satow contributes a preface.

Émile Bourgeois, University of Paris, has brought out the second volume of his work *La Diplomatie Secrète au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Ses Débuts*; it is entitled *Le Secret des Farnèse: Philippe V. et la Politique d'Albéroni* (Paris, Colin).

*Don Carlos: Histoire d'un Prince et d'un Peuple, 1848-1909*, by Count William de Bourgade (Paris, Librairie Nationale, pp. 400), is said to throw much new light on the prince and his entourage, and on the important events of the Carlist war. The book contains some hitherto unpublished documents.

General Kirkpatrick de Closeburn, who was charged by Don Carlos with important missions to foreign countries during the last Carlist war, has published a volume of *Souvenirs de la Dernière Guerre Carliste (1872-1876)* (Paris, Picard, 1909, pp. 422), which was written immediately after the conclusion of the struggle. The introduction contains a brief relation of the principal facts of the first Carlist war.

Documentary publications: P. F. Kehr, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum: Italia Pontificia*, IV., *Umbria, Picenum, Marsia* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1909, pp. xxxiv, 336); L. Schiaparelli and F. Baldasseroni, *Regesto di Camaldoli*, II. [*Regesta Chartarum Italiae*] (Rome, Loescher, 1909, pp. vii, 337) [Published by the Prussian Historical Institute].

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Smets, *La Chronique de Dino Compagni* (Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, April-July); P. Silva, *Pisa sotto Firenze dal 1416 al 1433* (Studi Storici, XVIII. 2); A. Luzio, *Isabella d'Este e Leone X. dal Congresso di Bologna alla Presa di Milano (1515-1521)*, II. (Archivio Storico Italiano, 1909, 3); J. A. Freiherr von Helfert, *Zur Geschichte des Lombardo-Venezianischen Königreichs* (Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte, XCVIII. 2); D. Marzi, *Altre Notizie intorno alla Campagna Toscana del 1848 in Lombardia* (Archivio Storico Italiano, 1909, 3); Marqués de Lema, *Antecedentes Políticos y Diplomáticos de los Sucesos de 1808*, con. (Nuestro Tiempo, October); J. Pérez de Guzmán, *El Primer Conato de Rebelión, Precursor de la Revolución en España*, concl. (La España Moderna, November).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

A brief account of the eleventh *Historikertag*, held at Strassburg last September, is given in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, CIV. 1, where some of the papers are printed. A fuller account is in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* for October 23 and 30.

Publications, mostly of the years 1906-1908, relative to the history of the Reformation in Germany are reviewed by A. Stern in the *Revue Historique* of November-December. Recent books on German history from 1648 to the present time are similarly noticed in the September-October issue of the same journal.

The second volume of Professor F. Thudichum's history of *Die Deutsche Reformation, 1517-1537* (Leipzig, Sängewald, 1909, pp. xv, 663), extends from 1525 to 1537.

Dr. H. Regelman's study of *Die Politischen Beziehungen der Fürsten Nordwestdeutschlands zu Frankreich und den Nordischen Seemächten*

in den Jahren 1674-1676 (Hildesheim, Lax, 1909, pp. xi, 152) forms the seventeenth *Heft* in the series, *Beiträge für die Geschichte Niedersachsens und Westfalens*, edited by Professor Erber.

In the series of publications from the Prussian state archives issued through Hirzel, Leipzig, Max Bär is bringing out two volumes on *Westpreussen unter Friedrich dem Grossen*.

A critical edition by F. K. Wittichen of the correspondence, mostly unprinted, of the publicist and diplomatist Friedrich von Gentz (1764-1832), is being published through Oldenbourg, Munich. Of the volumes already completed the first contains letters to Elisabeth Graun, Christian Garve, Karl August Böttiger, and others; the second consists principally of correspondence with the Swedish diplomat, Karl Gustav von Brinckmann.

Professor Hermann Oncken is publishing a two-volume work on *Rudolf von Bennigsen: Ein Deutscher Liberaler Politiker* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt).

In Dr. Hans Maehl's *Die Überleitung Preussens in das Konstitutionelle System durch den Zweiten Vereinigten Landtag* (Oldenbourg, Munich, 1909, pp. xii, 268), all the available source material has been used to construct a connected account of the position and significance of the Combined Prussian Diet in the revolution of 1848, and, in general, its historical mission.

The emigration from the Palatinate to America and to various European countries, which began two hundred years ago, is studied by Dr. Daniel Häberle of Heidelberg in his valuable book, *Auswanderung und Koloniegründung der Pfälzer im 18. Jahrhundert*. The author has secured much new material from local archives.

M. André Tardieu, whose work, *France and the Alliances*, was reviewed in a recent number of this journal (XIV. 825), has recently brought out an important book on the German chancellor, *Le Prince de Bülów* (Paris, Calmann-Levy).

An *Inventar des Allgemeinen Archivs des Ministeriums des Innern* (Vienna, Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1909, pp. 95) is published in the series of *Inventare Österreichischer Staatlicher Archive*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Wibel, *Die Siegel der Deutschen Kaiser und Könige* (Neues Archiv, XXXV. 1); H. Bloch, *Die Kaiserwahlen der Stauferzeit*, II. (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, November); J. Sommer, *Westfälisches Gildenwesen mit Ausschluss der Geistlichen Bruderschaften und Gewerbsgilden* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, VII. 4); H. Spangenberg, *Landesherrliche Verwaltung, Feudalismus und Ständetum in den Deutschen Territorien des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIII. 3); E. Stahamer, *Beiträge zur Kritik der Deutschen Reichstagsakten im Anfange des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Neues Archiv, XXXV. 1); R. Fr. Kaendl, *Studien zur*

*Geschichte des Deutschen Rechtes in Ungarn und dessen Nebenländern* (Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte, XCVIII. 2); E. Pelissier, *Der Gegenwärtige Stand der Landwehrforschung* (Deutsche Geschichtsblätter, October); H. von Schubert, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Evangelischen Bekenntnis- und Bündnisbildung 1529-1530*, concl. (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXX. 3); H. Oncken, *Bennigsen und die Epochen des Parlamentarischen Liberalismus in Deutschland und Preussen* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIV. 1).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The *Revue Historique* of September-October includes notices by Th. Bussemaker of recent books on the history of the Netherlands.

M. G. des Marez, archivist of Brussels, and author of several valuable works on the industrial history of that city, has published a monograph entitled *Pages d'Histoire Syndicale: Le Compagnonnage des Chapeliers Bruxellois, 1576-1909* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1909, pp. 112), which is designed as a partial illustration of the conflict between labor and capital.

*De Suikerhandel van Amsterdam van het Begin der 17de Eeuw tot 1813*, by J. J. Reese (The Hague, Nijhoff, 1908, pp. 460), a contribution to Dutch commercial history, contains numerous documents concerning the prices of sugar, tariffs, consignments of sugar by the East India Company to Holland from 1622 to 1794, list of the same from Brazil and the West Indian islands, list of the sugar refineries in Amsterdam, their names, situation, owners, etc.

A recent supplement to the thirteenth part of De Jonge's *Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indië* (The Hague, Nijhoff), contains 252 pieces, now first published, relating to the administration of Governor-General Daendels, 1808-1811, and throwing new light on the so-called "American contracts", concluded in behalf of the eastern counting-houses, and on other matters.

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

A life of *Christina of Sweden*, by Miss I. A. Taylor, has been issued by Hutchinson, London.

A museum is being formed at Moscow to contain objects connected with the events of the year 1812. There will be a special department for documents.

Prince and Princess Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich's book on *The Servian People: their Past Glory and their Destiny* (Scribner) treats of the Servian Race, the Servian Lands To-day, their Civilization and Culture from Early Times up to the Present, an Historical Survey of the Servian Race, and the Servian People's Situation To-day.

*Greece in Evolution*, studies prepared under the auspices of the French League for the Defence of the Rights of Hellenism, edited by

G. F. Abbott, and translated from the French with a preface by Sir Charles W. Dilke, comprises contributions by Th. Homolle, H. Hous-saye, Th. Reinach, Ed. Théry, G. Deschamps, Ch. Diehl, G. Fougères, J. Psichari, A. Berl, and M. Paillarès.

*La Question Crétoise*, by M. A.-J. Reinach (Paris, Geuthner, 1910, pp. 160), treats of the material and social conditions of the Cretans, the history of events from the insurrection of 1897 to the revolution of 1908, the powers and Crete, and the solution of the Cretan question. Diplomatic documents are included.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. Büchner, *Die Norwegische Agrarverfassung von der Kalmarer Union (1397) bis zur Verfassungsänderung (1660) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Pachtwesens* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, VII. 2); K. Wobley, *Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Polens* (Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Sozialpolitik und Verwaltung, XVIII. 3 and 4); Comte de Forbin, *Les Débuts d'une Mission en Pologne au Dix-Septième Siècle: Toussaint de Forbin et l'Élection de Jean Sobieski* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIII. 4).

#### THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

The fourth volume of the Marquis de la Mazelière's important work, *Le Japon: Histoire et Civilisation* (Paris, Plon) is entitled *Le Japon Moderne* and relates to the period of the revolution and the restoration, 1854-1869.

*Fifty Years of New Japan*, a two-volume work of encyclopedic character, compiled with the assistance of foremost authorities by Count Okuma, formerly prime minister and minister for foreign affairs, and edited in English by Mr. Marcus B. Huish, has been published by Smith, Elder (London, 1909, pp. 658, 624).

The Bureau of Science under the government of the Philippine Islands has published in an interesting pamphlet a group of *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion*, by Najeeb M. Saleeby, containing texts of historical and genealogical manuscripts of Mindanao, of the principal codes of laws of Mindanao and Sulu, and of two Sulu orations.

*A History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajahs, 1839-1908*, by S. Baring-Gould and C. A. Bampfylde, late resident of Sarawak (London, Sotheran, pp. xxiii, 464), contains a preface by the present Rajah, who put at the service of the authors the correspondence and all records that relate to Sarawak and its government.

The Oxford University Press has published the second volume of *The Court Minutes of the East India Company*, edited by Miss E. B. Sainsbury, with an introduction and notes by W. Foster. The period covered is 1640-1642.

A volume of Viscount Morley's *Indian Speeches, 1907-1909*, has been issued by Macmillan. Three appendixes contain an Extract from

the Despatch of the Board of Directors of the East India Company to the Government of India, December 10, 1834, accompanying the Government of India Act, 1833; the Proclamation of Queen Victoria, November 1, 1858; and Lord Morley's Despatch to the Governor-General, November 27, 1908.

*A History of Ceylon, from the Earliest Times to 1600 A. D.*, made up from João de Barros and Diogo do Couto, has been translated and edited by Donald Ferguson, and reprinted from the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

### AMERICA

#### GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has removed to ampler rooms (still on the same floor of the Bond Building). Dr. James A. Robertson's *List of Documents in Spanish Archives relating to the History of the United States, which have been Printed or of which Transcripts are Preserved in American Libraries* is passing through the press. Dr. Burnett has been completing his search for letters of delegates to the Continental Congress in Boston, Hartford, and Albany. Appropriations have been made for the year 1910 which permit the examination of the London archives for materials for the history of the United States since 1783. Professor Frederic L. Paxson of the University of Michigan and Dr. Charles O. Paullin of Washington will enter jointly upon this task in June, with the expectation of preparing a volume continuing those compiled by Professor Andrews and Miss Davenport for the period anterior to 1783. Appropriations have also been made for a preliminary canvass of the material in Canadian archives for the history of the United States, and for the preparation of a tentative plan for an atlas of American historical geography. No step beyond the presentation of this plan to the Trustees next autumn is at present contemplated. But it is hoped that a scheme for an atlas which shall be at once practicable and of scientific quality may be elaborated in a form which will be deemed to merit adoption.

The third issue of the annual bibliography of books and articles on American history, *Writings on American History, 1908*, compiled under the general supervision of the managing editor of this journal by Miss Grace G. Griffin, has just gone to the printer, and may be expected to be published in March. The series now covers 1906, 1907, and 1908, while its predecessors provide similarly for 1902 and 1903; it is published by the Macmillan Company.

It is announced from the Government Printing Office that beginning with July, 1909, the index to the *Monthly Catalogue* will be issued separately each quarter, and will cumulate for half-yearly periods. The



lists, which are appearing in the *Monthly Catalogue*, of notable reports and addresses that have been made to Congress, showing where they may be found in the "sheep set", will often be found useful by historical students.

*Precedents, Decisions on Points of Order, with Phraseology, in the United States Senate, from the First Congress to the Sixtieth Congress, 1789-1909*, compiled by Henry H. Gilfry, chief clerk of the Senate, has been issued as Senate document 129 of the 61st Congress, 1st session. The Government Printing Office has also issued the *Index* to reports and documents of the 60th Congress, 1st session, and a complete list of volumes of the *Annals of Congress*, *Register of Debates*, *Congressional Globe*, and *Congressional Record*.

The United States Bureau of Education has issued an *Index to the Reports of the Commissioner of Education, 1867-1907*. A subject-index of all publications of the bureau for the years 1867-1890 was published in the *Report* for 1888-1889; the present index includes both authors and subjects, together with an analysis of the more important articles contained in the annual reports.

Messrs. Henry Holt and Company have planned to publish a series of comprehensive and authoritative historical text-books, which they name "American Historical Series". The history of the United States in this series is to be written by Professor Frederick J. Turner.

In the series *Original Narratives of Early American History*, Captain Edward Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England*, edited by J. F. Jameson, is in the hands of the printer.

Professors H. W. Caldwell and C. E. Persinger of the University of Nebraska have prepared a *Source History of the United States* for use in high schools, normal schools, and colleges, which has been published by Messrs. Ainsworth and Company.

Professor G. S. Callender's *Selections from the Economic History of the United States from 1765 to 1860* has come from the press of Ginn and Company.

Professor George Elliott Howard has prepared a *Biography of American Statesmanship: an Analytical Reference Syllabus*, which has been issued by the University of Nebraska (pp. 75). Professor Howard believes that "in no more effective, certainly in no more interesting, way can one study social causation, the historical process, than through the evolution of personality." There are analyses of the careers of seventeen statesmen, beginning with Roger Williams and ending with Abraham Lincoln. In addition there is a supplementary list of thirteen to whom no special analyses are devoted. There are abundant references prepared with some care.

*Decisive Battles of America*, published by Harpers, contains chapters by Professor A. B. Hart, Colonel T. W. Higginson, Professor C. H. Van Tyne, and others. The book is edited by Ripley Hitchcock.

M. Alexandre Alvarez, counsellor to the ministry of foreign affairs of Chili, member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration of the Hague, has brought out through the house of Pedone, Paris, a volume on *Le Droit International Américain: Son Fondement, Sa Nature, d'après l'Histoire Diplomatique des États du Nouveau Monde et leur Vie Politique et Économique*.

Messrs. D. Appleton and Company have brought out a book entitled *Women in Industry*, by Miss Edith Abbott of the University of Chicago. The work is an historical and statistical study of the industrial changes brought about by the employment of women.

*Women in the Making of America*, by H. A. Bruce, is announced by Moffat, Yard, and Company.

Part II. of the first volume of Documents in Father Thomas Hughes's *History of the Society of Jesus in North America* is announced for publication in the present month.

The Macmillan Company have added to their series of "Stories of American History" *Daniel Boone and the Wilderness Road*, by H. Addington Bruce, and *The Last American Frontier*, by Frederic L. Paxson.

*The Speakers of the House*, by H. B. Fuller, while treating in part of the development of the speaker's office and power, is largely reminiscent and anecdotal in character (Little, Brown, and Company).

Charles Scribner's Sons are about to bring out the first volume of a work by Rear Admiral F. E. Chadwick on the relations of the United States with Spain. It is understood that Admiral Chadwick traces in this volume the history of diplomatic relations with Spain to the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, and that a subsequent volume will treat of that episode.

Mr. C. K. Bolton has prepared a work on *Scotch Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America*, which will shortly be issued from the press of Bacon and Brown. It is said that the book is a systematic history of the coming of emigrants from Ireland to the British colonies in America before the time of the Revolution and is based largely on unpublished material in public archives. It includes in particular a descriptive account of the settlers at Londonderry, New Hampshire, and new material relating to the southern colonies.

*A History of Norwegian Immigration from the Earliest Times to 1848*, by Professor George T. Flom of the University of Illinois, has been published by the Torch Press.

*Bibliography of the Chinese Question in the United States*, by Robert E. Cowan and Boutwell Dunlap, is from the press of A. M. Roberts, San Francisco. Government documents and periodical literature are not included in the bibliography.

The new *History Teacher's Magazine*, the inception of which was mentioned in the preceding number of this journal, presents in its October and November numbers several short articles of interest and value for teachers of history. We call attention to three of these in particular: "Gain, Loss and Problem in Recent History Teaching", by Professor William MacDonald (October); "Training the History Teacher in the Organization of his Field of Study", by Professor N. M. Trenholme (October); and "The Use of Sources in Instruction in Government and Politics", by Professor Charles A. Beard (November).

The *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* at its meeting of April, 1909 (vol. XIX., part 3) contains an excellent account of the Ohio valley press before the War of 1812, by Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, a valuable article on the early Spanish cartography of the New World, with especial reference to the "Spanish-Wolfenbüttel" map and the work of Diego Ribeiro, by Professor Edward L. Stevenson, and one by Mr. William B. Weeden on Early Commercial Providence. At the end are given three letters, relating to the battle of Bunker Hill and to Arnold's march on Quebec. The society has lately put forth a *Handbook of Information*, in 32 pages, compiled by the librarian, Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, giving an admirable account of the society's history, collections, publications, and present status, and concluding with a list of the officers and members.

The September-October number of the *German American Annals* contains the first part of a paper by Dr. W. G. Bek on "The Community at Bethel, Missouri, and its Offspring at Aurora, Oregon", a minor communistic society existing from 1844 to 1879. Dr. G. G. Benjamin's papers on the Germans in Texas are continued.

The *Magazine of History* is printing in installments (July and August) Mr. Forrest Morgan's investigation of the Warwick patent for Connecticut entitled "The Solution of an old Historic Mystery". Mr. Charles W. Smith contributes (July and August) a paper on the naming of counties in the state of Washington; and beginning with the August number Mr. Paul T. Arnold contributes a series of papers entitled "Negro Soldiers in the United States Army". In the section of the magazine devoted to documents appears (July number) a letter dated New York, September 17, 1781, signed by Beverly Robinson and George Beckwith, British officers, relating to an effort of General Clinton to establish a line of communication with Lord Cornwallis.

The September issue of *Americana*, the successor of the *American Historical Magazine*, contains a number of readable articles. Mr. A. M. Sherman, writing of "The Old Morris Court House" (Morristown, New Jersey), brings together several interesting facts of Revolutionary times; in an article entitled "A Notable Neighborhood" Mr. William J. Roe calls attention to the historic region about Newburgh Bay; the beginnings of journalism in Philadelphia are told briefly by Mr. W. J.

Price; and "American Freedom's First Test", by L. E. Swartz, is, in spite of its title, an article upon Shays's Rebellion. The "History of the Mormon Church", by Brigham H. Roberts, is continued.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

In the *Proceedings* of the Spencer Hill Monument Association for 1909 is a contribution by Mr. A. McF. Davis entitled "Early Experiments in Paper Money in America".

The University of Pennsylvania has issued as no. 3 in its "Series in History" a *Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania*. This calendar, which now appears in separate form, is the appendix to the *Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the American Philosophical Society*, edited by Dr. I. Minis Hays and recently published by the society. The only considerable body of Franklin papers which remain uncalendared is the collection, ten volumes in extent, possessed by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Inasmuch as the papers in this collection are of the same character as those in the calendared collections, often indeed portions of the same correspondence, it is much to be desired that a similar calendar of them might be made.

Mr. Gaillard Hunt's *History of the Seal of the United States* has appeared from the Government Printing Office. The present work is more complete than that prepared by Mr. Hunt in 1892 and published by the Department of State.

Professor Max Farrand's *Records of the Federal Convention*, in which the endeavor is made to present all original texts, contemporary or nearly contemporary, casting light upon the proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, is to be published, in four or five volumes, by the Yale University Press.

The inventory of Washington's personal effects, drawn up soon after his death, has ever since the Civil War been missing from the files of Fairfax County, Virginia. In a handsome volume, the edition of which is limited to 350 copies, *Inventory of the Contents of Mount Vernon, 1810* (pp. xviii, 63), Mr. W. K. Bixby has privately printed this interesting document, now printed entire for the first time, with an introduction by Mr. Worthington C. Ford.

A biography of Timothy Flint, pioneer, missionary, author, 1780-1840, will be issued shortly by the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland. It is the work of Professor J. E. Kirkpatrick of Washburn College, Topeka, Kansas, and will be the first published life of one who was an important factor in the early history of the central, southern, and western parts of the United States.

*The Autobiography of Captain Zachary G. Lamson, 1797 to 1814*, for which O. T. Howe has written an introduction and supplied his-

torical notes (W. B. Clarke Company), besides being an interesting narrative of a captain in the merchant service who had many adventures, is of value for the history of the merchant marine in a period of extraordinary interest.

It is announced that Messrs. Putnam will publish the diary of General Ethan Allen Hitchcock, edited by Dr. William A. Croffut. The diary is said to be particularly valuable for its account of the Mexican War.

The *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, 1809-1896, the friend of Lincoln and one of the most notable of the German American leaders, has been published by the Torch Press. The volume is composed of life-sketches written at the suggestion of Koerner's children and is edited by T. J. McCormack.

Besides Dr. R. G. Thwaites's little volume, *Cyrus Hall McCormick and the Reaper*, mentioned in this department of the REVIEW in July, the centenary of the birth of the inventor is commemorated also by Mr. Herbert N. Casson in a volume entitled *Cyrus Hall McCormick, his Life and Work*, which A. C. McClurg and Company have published.

A. C. McClurg and Company have published *Stephen A. Douglas: his Life, Public Services, Patriotism, and Speeches*, by Clark E. Carr.

Mr. George Haven Putnam has expanded the address delivered by him on the occasion of the Lincoln centennial commemoration into a monograph, which he has entitled *Abraham Lincoln! the People's Leader in the Struggle for National Existence*. The volume has been published by G. P. Putnam's Sons and includes a reprint of Lincoln's speech at Cooper Institute in February, 1860, with historical annotations by Cephas Brainerd and an introduction by Judge C. C. Nott.

Mr. Richard Watson Gilder's *Lincoln the Leader, and Lincoln's Genius for Expression* has been brought out by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

*Butler and his Cavalry in the War of Secession*, by U. R. Brooks, has been published at Columbia, South Carolina, by the State Company.

The Macmillan Company have published this autumn *My Day: Reminiscences of a Long Life*, by Mrs. Roger A. Pryor. The book is in a way supplementary to Mrs. Pryor's *Reminiscences of Peace and War*.

*Army Letters from an Officer's Wife, 1871-1888*, by Mrs. Frances M. A. Roe, comes from the press of D. Appleton and Company.

Mr. George F. Parker's *Recollections of Grover Cleveland* has been issued by the Century Company. Mr. Parker's articles upon phases of Cleveland's career which have appeared in *McClure's Magazine* have already shown of what materials this biography is constructed. The author's long and intimate relations with President Cleveland have enabled him to appreciate and to reveal much of the inner history of his career.

It is understood that Rear-Admiral Robley D. Evans is preparing

a second volume of his memoirs, beginning with 1899, where *A Sailor's Log* left off, and that the title of the book will be "An Admiral's Log".

The Government Printing Office has issued *Acts of Congress, Treaties, Proclamations, Decisions of the Supreme Court and Opinions of the Attorney-General relating to Noncontiguous Territory, Cuba, and Santo Domingo, March 4, 1905-June 1, 1909*. The publication emanates from the War Department.

*Index of Legislation, 1908* (October 1, 1907, to October 1, 1908), edited by Clarence B. Lester, legislative reference librarian of the New York State Library, and issued by the University of the State of New York as *Education Department Bulletin, No. 454*, lists or briefly digests considerably more than 2000 acts. The usual arrangement, primarily analytical, secondarily by states, is followed. It is worth noting that items relating to constitutional amendments occupy eleven pages.

The September issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* is devoted to the subject of Chinese and Japanese in America. The papers in parts I. and II. relate to the arguments for and against exclusion. Part III. includes a number of papers upon the national and international aspects of the exclusion movement, among them one by Mr. Chester Lloyd Jones on "The Legislative History of Exclusive Legislation". Part IV. is devoted to the problem of Oriental immigration outside of America and includes "Sources and Causes of Japanese Emigration", by Yosaburo Yoshida, and "Oriental Immigration into the Philippines", by Russell M. Story.

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

Houghton Mifflin Company have issued *The Expansion of New England: the Spread of New England Settlements and Institutions to the Mississippi River, 1629-1865*, by Mrs. Lois Kimball Mathews.

Mr. Herbert M. Sylvester, whose work *Maine Pioneer Settlements, 1605-1690*, in five volumes, was issued but a short time ago from the press of W. B. Clarke Company, has in preparation a work to be entitled "Indian Wars of New England". The work will be in two volumes and is expected to appear early in the spring.

The Maine Historical Society has just issued volume XIII. of its *Documentary Series* (pp. 523), being volume VIII. of the Baxter Manuscripts.

*A Genealogical and Family History of the State of Maine*, in four volumes, edited by G. T. Little, librarian of Bowdoin College, has been brought out by the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York.

Rev. Henry S. Burrage, D.D., state historian of Maine, is arranging, mounting, and cataloguing the Civil War correspondence of the governor and adjutant-general of the state, a correspondence of much historical value and so voluminous that that of 1861 and 1862 alone makes eighty volumes.

In the *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society for 1908-1909 appear "Samuel Champlain and the Lake Champlain Tercentenary", by H. W. Hill; "Immigration to Vermont", by J. E. Goodrich; and "Life, Character, and Times of Ira Allen", by D. P. Thompson.

The *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, volume XLII. (Boston, 1909, pp. xxii, 535), covers the meetings of October, 1908, to June, 1909. It contains the interesting and appropriate exercises by which the society commemorated the tercentenary of John Milton, and papers of interest respecting Lincoln's first appearance at Boston and his first inauguration. The most important documents embraced in the volume are three sets contributed by the new editor of the society's volumes, Mr. Worthington C. Ford. The first is a body of letters relating to the English churches in Holland from 1624 to 1636, in which occur many names famous in early New England history; the second, a series of letters of James Monroe, 1790 to 1827; the third, correspondence of George Bancroft with Martin Van Buren, of high interest for Massachusetts, and to some extent for national, politics in the period from 1830 to 1845.

The first portion of volume XLIII., which has appeared in the serial form, contains an article by Mr. Horace Davis on the Oregon Trail, a reprint of two rare pamphlets of 1634 and 1635, in the controversy in Amsterdam between Rev. John Davenport and Rev. John Pagett, an important political letter of Isaac Hill, 1828, correspondence of Bancroft and Polk on the Mecklenburg Declaration and on the annexation of Texas, a body of letters of Noah Webster, 1776-1840, and the original draught of the opinion which Hamilton rendered to Washington on the constitutionality of the first United States bank act.

An elaborate *Index to the Second Series of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1884-1907* (pp. xvii, 490), compiled by Mr. David M. Matteson, has been issued by the society. It covers the years from 1884 to 1907.

The Rev. Dr. Henry M. King's *Sir Henry Vane, Jr., Governor of Massachusetts and Friend of Roger Williams and Rhode Island* has come from the press (Preston and Rounds Company).

*The Loyalists of Massachusetts and the other Side of the American Revolution*, a volume of about 500 pages, is by James H. Stark of Boston and is published by W. B. Clarke Company. The work is in two parts. The first part is devoted primarily to revealing "the other side" of the Revolution; the second contains biographies of the Loyalists of Massachusetts, to the list of whom some new names have been added.

*The Federalist Party in Massachusetts to the Year 1800*, by Anson E. Morse, has been issued by the University Library, Princeton.

The author of *The Romance of an Old-Time Shipmaster*, Mr. Ralph D. Paine, has written another work in the same field, *The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem*, which A. C. McClurg and Company have just



brought out. In the preparation of this volume Mr. Paine has made use of log-books, sea-journals, and other unpublished manuscripts, mainly of the period of the Revolution and the War of 1812.

The *History of the Harvard Law School and of Early Legal Conditions in America*, by Mr. Charles Warren, has been published, in three volumes, by the Lewis Publishing Company of New York. Carefully composed, and dealing with several episodes and personalities important in American legal history, the book has a value extending much beyond local bounds.

Among the recent publications of Little, Brown, and Company is *Old Boston Days and Ways*, by Mary Caroline Crawford. The volume describes the social, political, and artistic life of the town from the beginning of the Revolution through the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Mr. G. F. Dow contributes to the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for October a paper on "The French Acadians in Essex County and their Life in Exile". The documentary articles, "Records of the Vice Admiralty Court at Halifax, Nova Scotia", "Essex County Notarial Records", and "Newspaper Items relating to Essex County, Massachusetts", are continued.

W. B. Clarke Company have issued *Lynn in the Revolution*, compiled from notes gathered by Howard K. Sanderson, edited and arranged by Mrs. Carrie M. Sanderson. The work is in two volumes, is illustrated, and includes, besides a detailed account of the part taken by the town and its people in the Revolution, biographical sketches of many of its soldiers and a journal by one of them.

Mr. William C. Smith has prepared a *History of Chatham, Massachusetts*, part I., which contains much material upon the early history of the town not hitherto published. The book includes an account of the French and Indian encounters at State Harbor in 1606 and two maps drawn by Champlain in 1609 (Franklin, Massachusetts, published by the author).

The Connecticut Historical Society is preparing to issue a second volume of the papers of Governor Jonathan Law, covering the period from August, 1745, to December, 1746.

The eleventh annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association was held in Mount Vernon, New York, on October 19 and 20. Among the papers and addresses presented at the sessions may be mentioned: "The Governors of New York", by Hon. Charles Z. Lincoln; "The Executive Relation of New York State to Historical Scholarship", by Victor H. Paltsits; and "The Historical Significance of the Hudson and Champlain Valleys", by Francis W. Halsey. There was a symposium on "Westchester in Colonial Times", and a discussion of the establishment of closer relations between the historical societies of the state.

The *Calendar of the Sir William Johnson Manuscripts in the New York State Library*, upon which Mr. Richard E. Day has for some time been engaged, has been brought out by the New York State Library. The calendar makes available an important and interesting body of historical material.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for September contains "Letters and Documents by or relating to Robert Fulton" (pp. 567-584) and "List of Works relating to Henry Hudson, Hudson River, Robert Fulton, Early Steam Navigation," etc.

Volume III. (1861-1882) of Mr. D. S. Alexander's *Political History of the State of New York* has come from the press (Henry Holt and Company).

The Scientific American Publishing Company have issued *The History of New York Ship Yards*, by J. H. Morrison.

A history of the beginnings of Presbyterianism in Albany, by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, will be found in a pamphlet of *Commemorative Discourses* delivered at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the dedication of the present edifice of the First Presbyterian Church in Albany.

One of the noteworthy books brought out in connection with the Hudson-Fulton celebration is *Robert Fulton and the "Clermont"*, an authoritative story prepared from unpublished manuscripts by Alice Cray Sutcliffe, great-granddaughter of the inventor, and published by the Century Company.

*Sail and Steam, an Historical Sketch showing New Jersey's Connection with the Events commemorated by the Hudson-Fulton Celebration*, an illustrated pamphlet issued by the Free Public Library of Jersey City, contains many interesting and little known facts relating to Fulton and the steamboat, and includes some account of the inventions of Colonel John Stevens of Hoboken.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired 109 commissions and letters of Hon. William Henry of Northampton County, Pennsylvania.

In the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October Major William H. Lambert presents a valuable investigation of President Lincoln's Gettysburg address. The title of the article is "The Gettysburg Address: when written, how received, its true Form". The writer carefully sifts the evidence in various accounts which have been given of the preparation of the address and its reception, and compares in tabulated form the principal revisions of it. The manuscript copies, the final revision, and the copy possessed by the late John Hay are given in photographic facsimile. The several documentary articles hitherto mentioned are continued. Among the documents in the department of "Notes and Queries" are two letters of Lincoln (1863, 1864), one of Dr. John Morgan (1756), and one of Arthur St. Clair (1791).

Messrs. J. T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders, who edit for the commonwealth the *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, have now brought out their thirteenth volume, covering the period from 1787 to 1790 (Harrisburg, 1908, pp. 604).

*Catholicity in Philadelphia from the earliest Missionaries down to the present Time*, by J. L. J. Kirlin, has been published in Philadelphia by J. J. McVey.

The *Report and Proceedings of the Wyoming Commemorative Association* for 1909 contains an address by Professor C. H. Van Tyne entitled "The Wyoming Valley and Union Sentiment in the American Revolution".

The Swedish Colonial Society, founded at Philadelphia in April, has already obtained a membership of 150. While somewhat more than half of the members are descendants of the early Swedish settlers, the society is intended to belong to the historical and not to the "hereditary" class. Its object is the collection, preservation, and publication of materials relating to New Sweden, and the erection of monuments and tablets commemorative of its history. King Gustav V. has accepted the relation of patron to the society, the minister of Sweden, Mr. de Lagercrantz, that of honorary president. The president is Mr. Marcel A. Viti, vice-consul of Sweden at Philadelphia, the treasurer Dr. Gregory B. Keen, the secretary Dr. Amandus Johnson, whose history of New Sweden, based on much new material from Swedish archives, will probably be published by the society early in 1910.

The paper of Mr. Charles W. Sommerville on "The Early Career of Governor Francis Nicholson" is concluded in the September issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. "New Light on Maryland History", by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, contains gleanings from the transcripts recently obtained by the Library of Congress and relates to the voyage of the *Ark* and the *Dove* and to some correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. "Construction of the Public Buildings in Washington" is a paper read before the society in 1865, by John H. B. Latrobe. This issue of the magazine reprints the rare pamphlet *Hammond vs. Heamans*, relating to the Claiborne incident of 1654, and prints several other documents of interest, among them "Baltimore's Declaration to the Lords Commissioners".

Volume XII. of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (Washington, D. C., 1909, pp. 196) contains a paper by Mr. Glenn Brown on the plan of L'Enfant for the city of Washington and its effect on the development of the capital, an account of the early days of Georgetown College, by Professor Edward I. Devitt, S. J., an article on Francis Scott Key, by Mr. F. S. Key Smith, one on the history of St. John's Church, by Judge Alexander B. Hagner, and one on the portion of the District of Columbia ceded by Virginia and the movements to recover it since its retrocession, by Mr. Amos B. Casselman.

The October issue of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* contains numerous items of interest and value. From the Randolph Manuscript are printed a part of the journals of the House of Burgeses (September and October, 1667), commissions to Sir Henry Chicheley (1674), and a commission to Governor Berkeley and council, November 16, 1676. In the section "Virginia in 1652-1653" appear several items of minutes of a committee of foreign affairs, numerous orders of the council of state, two petitions from British merchants relative to tobacco planting in Virginia, and a document entitled "The Lord Protector and Council of State to the Governor and General Assembly of the English Plantation of Virginia" (January 4, 1653/4) promising a "speedy resolution of those questions betwixt Lord Baltimore and the inhabitants of Virginia . . . and other concerns of that Plantation". Among the "Virginia Legislative Papers" is one relating to the matter of obtaining supplies for the state military forces in 1776, and others of the same year relating to the war. In the section of "Miscellaneous Colonial Documents" are two letters of James Abercromby (1755 and 1759) relating to the same subject as his memorial published in the preceding issue of the magazine, and a proclamation, presumably by Lord Dunmore, declaring Virginia's jurisdiction over Pittsburg.

The memoranda kept by Sir John Randolph and Edward Barradall of the law cases in which they were engaged between the years 1728 and 1743 have been edited by R. T. Barton and published, in two volumes, by the Boston Book Company under the title *Virginia Colonial Decisions*. The first volume includes an introduction in ten chapters by the editor and the reports of Randolph, the second contains the reports of Barradall. The first seven chapters of the introduction deal mainly with the social environment historically treated; chapter VIII. treats of the Law and the Lawyers, including personal sketches of practitioners, chapter IX. describes the Courts, and chapter X. is devoted to biographical accounts of Barradall and Randolph.

*Manors of Virginia in Colonial Times*, by Edith Tunis Sale, has been published by Lippincott. The term "manors" in the title is evidently used in some popular sense.

Mr. Archibald Henderson of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, is engaged in writing a life of his grandfather, Colonel Richard Henderson, president of the Transylvania Company. Mr. Henderson is desirous of learning the whereabouts of papers of Richard Henderson or of any member of the Transylvania Company.

It is announced that A. B. Caldwell, Atlanta, Georgia, will shortly issue a reprint of McCall's *History of Georgia*, a work that has been long out of print and rare.

The government of Georgia has now brought out the first volume of the *Confederate Records of the State of Georgia*, compiled and pub-

lished, under authority of the legislature, by Allen D. Candler (Atlanta, 1909, pp. 773). It contains the message of Governor Joseph E. Brown on federal relations, November 7, 1860, resolutions of the various counties sent to the legislature, the addresses delivered before it by T. R. R. Cobb and Alexander H. Stephens, arguing secession pro and contra, the act and proclamation calling the secession convention, its journal (which makes the greater part of the volume), and the acts of the legislature of 1860 relating to public defense. The editor's preface is mainly occupied with a warm defense of secession.

The Mississippi Historical Society has issued volume X. of its *Publications* edited by Professor Franklin L. Riley. The volume includes an author index, a general index, and a topically arranged guide to the contents of the entire ten volumes of the society's publications. One considerable document is printed, the "Diary of a Mississippi Planter". The writer of the diary was Dr. M. W. Philips, and the period covered is from 1840 to 1863. The document contains much information upon methods and procedure on an ante-bellum plantation. Several of the papers printed in this volume relate to the Civil War and Reconstruction. One of these, "The War in Mississippi after the Fall of Vicksburg", is by the late General Stephen D. Lee. A sketch of General Lee is furnished by Professor Dabney Lipscomb. "Jefferson Davis at West Point" is by Professor Walter L. Fleming. The editor of the volume presents a résumé of the work of the society in the decade 1898-1909.

The *Alumnus*, a publication of the Louisiana State University, contains in its issue for October a body of interesting reminiscences relating to the early days of the university's predecessor, the Louisiana State Seminary, and especially to William T. Sherman, its first superintendent.

The state of Texas has purchased from Mrs. Loretta Lamar Calder of Beaumont, Texas, the papers left by her father, Mirabeau B. Lamar, president of Texas from 1838 to 1841. Beside the personal papers of Lamar the collection includes materials gathered by him with a view to writing a history of the Republic of Texas. The collection numbers between 2500 and 3000 pieces.

Mr. Alexander Dienst's valuable studies of "The Navy of the Republic of Texas", begun in the January number of the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, are continued through the April and July numbers of that journal. Mr. C. F. Neu gives in the April number an account of "The Case of the Brig *Pocket*", a vessel sailing under American colors which was captured by the Texan armed schooner *Invincible* in March, 1836. The July number prints the journal of J. C. Clopper, relating to a trip from Cincinnati to Texas in 1828.

A union of eleven historical organizations in the Mississippi valley, effected through the Committee on Co-operation appointed by the Con-

ference of State and Local Historical Societies two years ago, on the occasion of the Madison meeting of the American Historical Association, has perfected the necessary financial arrangements for making in Paris a detailed calendar of all the papers in the French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi valley or any portion thereof. The organizations subscribing are: the Mississippi, Indiana, and Alabama departments of archives and history, the Illinois Historical Library, the Chicago, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Michigan, and Wisconsin historical societies, and the Howard Memorial Library. Dr. Dunbar Rowland is chairman of the committee having the matter in charge, and the work in Paris will be carried on under the general supervision of Mr. Waldo G. Leland. Great gratification must be expressed at the successful organization of this undertaking, which is the rational and indispensable first step of all serious endeavor to exploit the French archives for any purposes of Western history.

The *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the year 1907-1908, the first of the Association's volumes, printed by the Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, can now be obtained. It contains an historical sketch of the founding of the Association, the transactions of the year named, and various papers and addresses delivered at the regular meeting at Lake Minnetonka, such as Mr. Warren Upham's paper on the Explorations of the Vérendryes, Professor Libby's on the Mandans, Mr. Pelzer's on the Diplomatic Correspondence of Augustus Caesar Dodge, and that of Professor L. M. Larson on the Sectional Elements in the Early History of Milwaukee. Volume II., containing the proceedings for the year 1908-1909, is now in press. It will contain papers by Professor Harlow Lindley on William Clark as Indian Agent, by Professor E. C. Griffith on Early Banking in Kentucky, by Professor J. A. James on the Significance of the British Attack on St. Louis in 1780, by Professor Roland G. Usher on the Western Sanitary Commission, and various papers on the ethnology of the Mississippi valley.

The Ohio Valley Historical Association met at Frankfort, Kentucky, on October 14-16, 1909. Conferences were held on the relation between the work of local history and that of historical instruction in colleges, and on subjects connected with the collection of historical manuscripts in the Ohio valley. The principal address, on the Ohio Valley in the History of the Nation, was delivered by Professor Frederick J. Turner. The *Proceedings* of the second annual meeting (November, 1908) have been published in a pamphlet of 133 pages.

Dr. C. E. Carter's *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774*, the second issue of the American Historical Association's series of prize essays, is now in press.

The principal article in the September number of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* is a sketch of James Hughes, a member of Congress from Indiana, 1857-1859, and judge of the court of claims,

1861-1865. There is also an "Index of Historical Articles in Indianapolis Newspapers", prepared by Miss Florence Venn, reference librarian of the Indiana State Library.

In the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, July issue, appear several letters from Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois to Senator James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin. The majority of them were written in 1861 and relate to politics and military affairs. There are also two letters of Governor Ninian Edwards; one of December 2, 1829, has a warm political color. The *Journal* reprints from Pownall's *Topographical Description of North America* extracts from the journal of Captain Harry Gordon, who made an expedition from Fort Pitt down the Ohio River to Illinois in 1766. The number concludes with part III. of Dr. J. F. Synder's "Prehistoric Illinois".

The Illinois State Historical Library has recently purchased some three thousand dollars' worth of rare Americana, bearing particularly upon the West, and including some rare pamphlets not to be found in other libraries west of the Alleghanies.

The *Kaskaskia Records*, the fifth volume of the *Illinois Historical Collections*, edited by Professor Clarence W. Alvord, will appear in February.

The trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library have authorized a second volume of the Executive Series of the *Illinois Historical Collections*. The volume will be edited by Professor Evarts B. Greene of the University of Illinois.

The Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, has issued a facsimile reprint of the second edition (1780) of the *Narrative of Mr. John Dodge during his Captivity at Detroit*, for which Mr. Clarence M. Burton has furnished an introduction.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin held its fifty-seventh annual meeting in Madison on October 21. The report of the superintendent, Dr. R. G. Thwaites, showed that the growth of the library had produced such congestion that there was pressing need for additional storage room. Among the acquisitions of the year is considerable documentary material relating to South America. The reprinting of the first ten volumes of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* is practically completed. Noteworthy among the papers read at the meeting was one by Professor J. A. James on "Indian Diplomacy and the Opening of the Revolution in the West", a paper based largely on a study of the Draper Manuscripts. Mr. Duane Mowry presented an appreciation of Senator James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin, and Mr. P. V. Lawson gave an account of paper-making in the state.

Moffat, Yard, and Company announce a volume by Professor P. N. McElroy entitled *Kentucky in the Nation's Making*.

The Minnesota Historical Society has lately received about five hundred letters written to Martin McLeod, who was a member of the



territorial council in 1849-1853 and died in 1860. They relate to the fur-trade and to the public affairs of the territory. A large collection of pamphlets and miscellaneous manuscripts from the library of the late Dr. Edward D. Neill has also been received.

The October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains an elaborate paper by Mr. J. W. Rich on the battle of Shiloh. The material is drawn mainly from the official records but in part also from personal memoirs. In the same issue of the *Journal* is a paper by Ethyl E. Martin entitled "A Bribery Episode in the First Election of United States Senators in Iowa".

In the July number of the *Missouri Historical Review*, published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, Mr. J. L. Thomas presents his second paper on "Some Historic Lines in Missouri", a paper treating in the main of the line between Missouri and Iowa. Mr. Joab Spencer gives some account of "Missouri's Aboriginal Inhabitants", and Mr. W. S. Bryan continues his papers relating to Daniel Boone in Missouri.

*The Struggle for Missouri*, by John McElroy, has been published in Washington by the National Tribune Company.

*The Conquest of the Missouri*, by J. M. Hanson, is in large measure the biography of Captain Grant Marsh, who has been plying on the Missouri River since 1854 and some of whose exploits have had more than a local significance.

The State Historical Society of North Dakota carried through last summer a careful survey of the Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa sites on the west bank of the Missouri River, identifying the villages reached by the Vérendryes in 1738-1739, and making other discoveries, which will be described in detail later. It is hoped to extend this survey in 1910 to the regions once occupied by the Cheyennes along the Shyenne River, in the southeastern part of the state.

A new library and museum building is being erected for the Nebraska State Historical Society. Mr. Albert Watkins has lately been added to the society's regular staff, as historian, his time to be given entirely to the work of editing and of research.

In *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Cedar Rapids, The Torch Press). Mr. W. E. Connelley has an opportunity to win an audience beyond the narrow confines of mere local interest.

The Academy of Pacific Coast History has made a beginning, in excellent typographical form, of a series of *Publications*, printed at the press of the University of California. The first number of the series presents a full account of the San Francisco Clearing-house Certificates of 1907-1908, by Professor Carl C. Plehn; the second, the Official Account of the Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770, edited by Mr. Frederick J. Teggart from the contemporary pamphlet issued by the government of New Spain; and the third, the Diary of Portolá from May 11, 1769,

to January 24, 1770, now for the first time printed. Both the last two are presented in Spanish text and English translation. They are to be followed by Miguel Costansó's and other diaries of the expedition, by papers on the United States consulate in California, on the bibliography of the Spanish press in that department, on the viceroy of New Spain in the eighteenth century, etc., and by volumes containing the papers of the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco, the early archives of California, and the letters of Father Junípero Serra.

The pages of the March (1909) number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are devoted entirely to a group of documents relative to Warre and Vavasour's military reconnoissance in Oregon, 1845-1846, edited by Joseph Schafer. The mission of Warre and Vavasour has remained in some obscurity until the discovery recently, mainly in the British Public Record Office, of a documentary history of the whole affair. Warre and Vavasour were lieutenants of the British forces in Canada, detailed to make an expedition into the Oregon country and report upon the conditions existing. These documents throw an interesting side-light on the history of the Oregon question.

Bulletin 41 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is *Antiquities of the Mesa Verde National Park Spruce-tree House*, by Dr. J. W. Fewkes. The ruins of the spruce-tree house, the largest in Mesa Verde Park with the exception of the Cliff Palace, are fully described and illustrated.

It is understood that Miss Agnes C. Laut is engaged in the preparation of a volume in continuation of her *Conquest of the Great Northwest*.

The Champlain Society has issued *The Logs of the Conquest of Canada*, based on materials hitherto unpublished, illustrative of the naval aspects of the conquest, and edited by Colonel William Wood. It expects before long to bring out the second volume of Lescarbot, Samuel Hearne's *Journey from Prince of Wales Fort in Hudson Bay to the Northern Ocean, 1769-1772*, edited by J. B. Tyrrell, and Captain John Knox's *Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America, 1757-1760*, edited by Dr. Arthur G. Doughty. Out of the funds supplied for the celebration in 1908 of the tercentenary of the landing of Champlain, the National Battlefields Commission, which had charge of that celebration, has made a grant of \$5000 to the society to assist in publishing a complete edition of the works of Champlain, together with translations. An edition of six volumes, edited by Mr. H. P. Biggar and other scholars, is contemplated. The society expects later to issue Chrestien le Clercq's *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie*, English translation and French text, edited by Professor W. F. Ganong; *The Journals of La Vérendrye*, in French and English, edited by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee; a volume of Cartwright papers, edited by Professor Adam Shortt; one of papers on Louisbourg, by Mr. J. S. McLennan; and one of documents relating to the rebellion of 1837, edited

by Mr. J. Edmond Roy. Ultimately there will probably be volumes relating to the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, the régimes of General Murray, Lord Dorchester, Lord Durham, etc.

A life of Sir Isaac Brock, the victor over Hull at Detroit, has been added to the *Canadian Heroes* series with the title, *The Story of Isaac Brock* (Chicago, McClurg). The writer is Mr. Walter R. Nursey.

The library of Harvard University has received as a gift from Professor A. C. Coolidge and Mr. C. L. Hay a collection of 4000 books, principally in Spanish-American history, from the library of Señor Luis Montt of Santiago de Chile.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for October contains the beginning of a list of works in the library relating to Mexico, to which additional value is lent by careful annotations.

Mr. F. A. MacNutt, whose two-volume collection of *Letters of Cortes* appeared in 1908, has written for Messrs. Putnam's *Heroes of the Nations* series *Fernando Cortes and the Conquest of Mexico*.

*A History of Jamaica*, by W. D. Gardner, a record of economic, social, and religious progress rather than of political history, has been published in a new edition (New York, Appleton).

From the prolific workshop of one who may well be called the greatest living bibliographer in America, Señor Don José Toribio Medina, comes the first volume of a sumptuous edition of the famous historical poem, *La Araucana*, by Ercilla. A large folio of 607 pages, it contains the text of the poem, illustrated with many interesting engravings and illustrations that throw new light on the story of the Araucanian wars. A second volume, to contain documents, historical notes, a bibliography, and a biography of the author, is promised shortly.

In *Documentos Historicos, referentes al Paso de los Andes, efectuado en 1817, por el General San Martin*, the editor, H. Bertling, the German-Chilean authority on military history, has brought together an extremely interesting and valuable set of papers. It will be remembered that six years ago, Mr. Bertling published his *Estudios sobre el Paso de los Andes*. The evidence contained in this last volume of 180 pages, published in Concepcion in 1908, will be welcomed by all students of the heroic epoch of South American history.

An important contribution to the material for the history of the dispute between Bolivia and Brazil known as the "Acre Question" has been made by Dr. Elías Sagárnaga, who has just published his recollections of the Acre Campaign of 1903 under the title *Mis Notas de Viaje* (La Paz, 1909, pp. 194).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Mantoux, *Le Comité de Salut Public et la Mission de Genêt aux États-Unis* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, November-December); George A. Chisholm, *A Hundred Years of Commerce between England and America* (The Scottish

Geographical Magazine, November); C. M. Harvey, *The Story of the Santa Fé Trail* (Atlantic, December); Major-General A. S. Webb, *Campaigning in Florida in 1855* (Journal of the Military Service Institution, November–December); Brigadier-General H. L. Abbot, *Reminiscences of the Oregon War of 1855* (*ibid.*); John D. Wolcott, *The Southern Educational Convention of 1863* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Wayne MacVeagh, *Lincoln at Gettysburg* (Century, November); *The Diary of Gideon Welles*, IX. *The End of the War*, X. *The Death of Lincoln* (Atlantic, October, November); Morris Schaff, *The Battle of the Wilderness*, V., VI., VII. (*ibid.*, October, November, December); Major J. C. White, *A Review of the Services of the Regular Army during the Civil War*, II. (Journal of the Military Service Institution, November–December); Count C. d'Eschevannès, ed., *Une Excursion au Pays des Chactas* [1867]—*Lettres inédites du T. R. P. Chocarne*, O. P. (Études, November 5); J. K. Towles, *Early Railroad Monopoly and Discrimination in Rhode Island, 1835–1855* (Yale Review, November); R. W. Gilder, *Grover Cleveland: a Group of Letters: a Record of Friendship*, IV. (Century, November); Gaillard Hunt, *The History of the Department of State*, IV. (American Journal of International Law, October); H. B. Learned, *The Attorney-General and the Cabinet* (Political Science Quarterly, August); R. B. Scott, *The Increased Control of State Activities by the Federal Courts* (*ibid.*); Stephen Leacock, *Canada and the Monroe Doctrine* (The University Magazine, October).